

Inside Al-Qaeda / Asia's Wine Capital

# Newsweek®

19.02.2016

**IRELAND  
LEGALIZED  
GAY MARRIAGE  
IN 2015.  
COULD  
ABORTION  
BE NEXT?**

**THE  
LAST  
TABOO**





A close-up, high-resolution photograph of a gorilla's face, focusing on its eye and nose. The gorilla's fur is dark and textured, and its eye is a striking yellowish-brown color. The lighting is soft, highlighting the contours of its face.

# HELP SAVE THE 'WOW'

These giants of the animal kingdom need help. Despite their strength and cunning they're no match for a poacher's rifle. For 50 years WWF has been securing protected areas worldwide, but these aren't enough to stop the killing. To disrupt the sophisticated criminal gangs supplying animal parts to lucrative illegal markets, we are working with governments to toughen law enforcement. We're also working with consumers to reduce the demand for unlawful wildlife products. Help us look after the world where you live at [panda.org/50](https://panda.org/50)





# Newsweek

FEBRUARY 19, 2016 / VOL. 166 / NO. 07

**ROCKED BY RAPE:**  
Soldiers spot a  
suspected Boko  
Haram fighter's  
body in Nigeria.  
Over 2,000 women  
and girls have  
been kidnapped by  
the militants, and  
many have been  
sexually abused,  
Amnesty International said.



## FEATURES

### 32 Ireland's Body Politics

This month's general election could be the first step in the legalization of abortion in the traditionally Catholic country.

*by Mirren Gidda*

### 40 Boko Haram's War on Women

The Nigerian Islamist group abducts and rapes women to boost recruitment and demonstrate its domination.

*by Hillary Matfess*

COVER CREDIT: PHOTOGRAPH BY F.G.I./ALAMY

## DEPARTMENTS

### BIG SHOTS

- 4 **Bab al-Salam, Syria**  
No Looking Back
- 6 **Athens, Greece**  
Crippled Economy
- 8 **Seoul, South Korea**  
Fun With Missiles
- 10 **Tainan, Taiwan**  
Epicenter

### PAGE ONE

- 12 **Refugees**  
Mama Courage
- 16 **Politics**  
Psst! Wanna Know a (Not) Secret?

- 19 **Health**  
Healthy Models? Fat Chance
- 20 **Foreign Policy**  
The Loner
- 22 **Egypt**  
Fashion Victims
- 24 **France**  
Liberté, Égalité, Technologie
- 26 **Syria**  
The Al-Qaeda Show
- 30 **Religion**  
Whom Would Jesus Lock Up?

## NEW WORLD

- 46 **Zika**  
Chemical Overreaction
- 48 **Hunger**  
Grain Elevator
- 52 **Medicine**  
Bacterial Backup

## DOWNTIME

- 56 **Food**  
Those Incredible, Edible Bugs
- 60 **Alcohol**  
Our Grapes
- 62 **Style**  
Bright at the Museum
- 64 **Rewind**  
25 Years



FOR MORE HEADLINES,  
GO TO [NEWSWEEK.COM](http://NEWSWEEK.COM)



# Newsweek

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

**Jim Impoco**

DEPUTY EDITOR  
**Bob Roe**

MANAGING EDITOR  
**Kira Bindrim**

EUROPEAN EDITOR  
**Matt McAllester**

CONTRIBUTING DESIGN DIRECTOR  
**Priest + Grace**

INTERNATIONAL EDITOR  
**Claudia Parsons**

CO-FOUNDER, CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER  
**Etienne Uzac**

CO-FOUNDER, CHIEF CONTENT OFFICER  
**Johnathan Davis**

MANAGING DIRECTOR, EMEA  
**Dev Pragad**

## EUROPEAN EDITION

### EDITORIAL

ASSOCIATE EDITOR **Naina Bajekal**

TRAVEL EDITOR **Graham Boynton**

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR **Owen Matthews**

DIGITAL EDITOR **Serena Kutchinsky**

DEPUTY ONLINE NEWS EDITOR **Graham Smith**

REPORTERS **Anthony Cuthbertson**

**Teddy Cutler** **Conor Gaffey**

**Mirren Gidda** **Josh Lowe**

**Jack Moore** **Damien Sharkov**

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS **Robert Chalmers**

**Harry Eyres** **Nick Foulkes**

**Adam LeBor**

### ART + PHOTO

ART DIRECTOR **Michael Friel**

ASSOCIATE ART DIRECTOR **Dwayne Bernard**

DESIGNER **Jessica Fitzgerald**

PHOTO DIRECTOR **Shaminder Dulai**

PHOTO EDITORS **Jared T. Miller**

**Jen Tse**

PRODUCTION MANAGER **Helen J. Russell**

CONTRIBUTING DIGITAL DESIGNER **Tuomas Korpjaakko**

CONTRIBUTING DIGITAL IMAGING SPECIALIST **Katy Lyness**

### CONTRIBUTING WRITERS

**Ryan Bort, Jonathan Broder, Nina Burleigh, Janine Di Giovanni, Kurt Eichenwald, Jessica Firger, Michele Gorman, Abigail Jones, Max Kutner, Seung Lee, Douglas Main, Leah McGrath Goodman, Paula Mejia, Polly Mosendz, Alexander Nazaryan, Bill Powell, Winston Ross, Josh Saul, Zoë Schlanger, Zach Schonfeld, Jeff Stein, Lauren Walker, John Walters, Lucy Westcott, Taylor Wofford, Stav Ziv**

### CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

**Joanna Brenner, Grant Burningham, Matt Cooper, Kevin Dolak, Cady Drell, Margarita Noriega, R.M. Schneiderman, John Seeley, Teri Wagner Flynn, Elijah Wolfson**

PUBLISHED BY

**Newsweek LTD, a division of IBT Media Group LTD**

GENERAL MANAGER

**Dave Martin**

GENERAL COUNSEL, EMEA

**Rosie McKimmie**

PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR, EMEA

**Sharon Ezzeldin**

### ADVERTISING

SENIOR SALES DIRECTOR **Chantal Mamboury**

GROUP ADVERTISING DIRECTOR **Una Reynolds**

COMMERCIAL DIRECTOR **Jeremy Makin**

SALES DIRECTOR **Gemma Bell**

SENIOR COMMERCIAL MANAGER **Pierce Cook-Anderson**

### MARKETING AND CIRCULATION

SUBSCRIPTION MARKETING MANAGER **Tom Nichols**

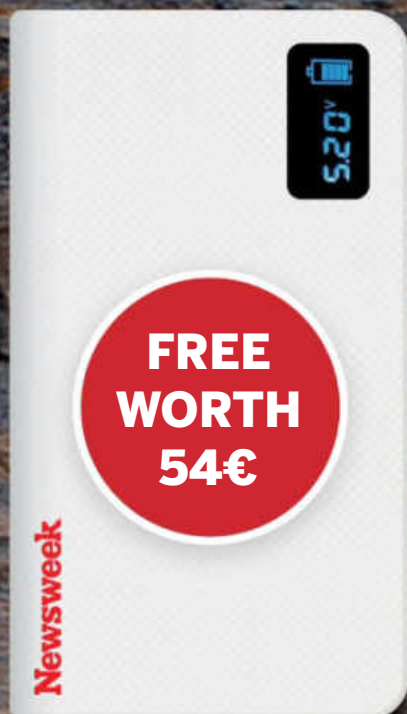
SUBSCRIPTION FULFILMENT MANAGER **Samantha Rhodes**

NEWSSTAND MANAGER **Kim Sermon**

BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT MANAGER **Tom Rendell**



# FREE power bank when you subscribe to Newsweek



- Light weight
- Stores up to 8 charges
- Perfect for long journeys
- Charge 2 devices at once
- Cameras, MP3 players, iPhone, Android, Tablets & video game consoles

**Save  
74%**

**ON THE RETAIL PRICE**

## **FULL ACCESS ONLY €69**

- ✓ Delivery included
- ✓ Never miss an issue
- ✓ Download and read offline on your iPad/iPhone

**Visit [Newsweek.com/gift](http://Newsweek.com/gift)  
OR CALL +44 203 040 4383**

Gift not available to customers in Asia or the USA. Please allow up to 28 days for delivery of the gift, which will be sent on a signed for service after payment has been received. We reserve the right to substitute the gift advertised for one of equal or greater value if circumstances require. We also reserve the right to provide an alternative gift of an 8 issues extension if stocks are exhausted of the original gift. Should you wish to cancel your subscription it will be cancelled on expiry of the current term and will not be refundable unless in exceptional circumstances and where the gift has been returned in good condition. Please see [europe.newsweek.com/terms-service](http://europe.newsweek.com/terms-service) for full terms. If you are in Asia and would like to subscribe please email [emea-support@newsweek.com](mailto:emea-support@newsweek.com).









## BIG SHOTS

**SYRIA**

### No Looking Back

Bab al-Salam, Syria—Syrians wait for permission to cross a closed Turkish border on February 6. According to the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, about 40,000 Syrians have fled a Russian-backed offensive on Aleppo that threatens to create a new humanitarian disaster. The combined forces of Russia, Iran and Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's regime appear to have shifted the balance on the battlefield, with government forces and allies closing in on the city's rebel-held eastern half. Peace talks in Geneva were put on hold February 3 as the assault escalated. Whether they will restart February 25, as announced, is unclear.



BULENT KILIC



## GREECE

## Crippled Economy

Athens, Greece—Prosthetic legs lean against a wall on February 4, beneath a banner reading “Movement for emancipation of people with special needs,” during a 24-hour general strike in Greece against planned pension reforms.

Isolated clashes between police and protesters erupted as about 50,000 people marched on the parliament to demand an end to austerity measures. The demonstrators insisted that the government reject plans to cut costs in order to repay debt owed to international creditors. The backlash is putting pressure on Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras, whose left-wing Syriza party has only a three-seat parliamentary majority.



MICHALIS KARAGIANNIS





**Κίνηση  
αφέντησης  
Α.με.Α**









## SOUTH KOREA

**Fun With  
Missiles**

Seoul, South Korea—A couple pose in front of a display of model missiles, including a North Korean Scud-B, at the War Memorial of Korea on February 7, the same day North Korea launched a long-range rocket carrying a satellite. Pyongyang said the launch was for scientific and “peaceful purposes,” but other nations saw it as part of a program to develop intercontinental ballistic missiles, which are banned by multiple U.N. Security Council resolutions. South Korea, the United States and Japan called for an emergency meeting of the council in response to the launch.



HAN MYUNG-GU





## TAIWAN

## Epicenter

Tainan, Taiwan—Rescue workers search a collapsed building on February 7, a day after a magnitude-6.4 earthquake killed at least 38 people and left nearly 500 injured. Many of those killed were in a 17-story apartment building in the Weiguan Jinlong residential complex, sparking questions about whether faulty construction was to blame. Tainan Mayor William Lai said the government had launched an investigation, adding, “We will hold the builder responsible if they have broken the law.” The quake’s force was felt as far away as Taipei, which is nearly 200 miles from Tainan.



LAM YIK FEI











# P A G E O N E

POLITICS

— REFUGEES —

HEALTH

RELIGION

FRANCE

SYRIA

## MAMA COURAGE

### Can Angela Merkel persuade the German people to continue welcoming refugees?

**BERLIN'S LEGACY** of division is clear to anyone visiting the German capital. Sections of the wall that once separated the democratic West from the Communist East have been left standing as reminders of the costs of partition. When the wall fell in 1989, Berliners hoped they would never again see their capital divided.

But a new divisive issue threatens the unity of Berlin—and of the country at large. Last year, the city of 3.5 million people took in 80,000 refugees. During an interview in November, Berlin's mayor, Michael Müller, said the city, like the rest of Germany, was "overrun by the big number of refugees," adding that in one month the capital took in more people than in the past three years. A backlog formed, and in the struggle to house everyone, officials sent many to large shelters. In January, Berlin's Refugee Council, an independent organization that helps refugees, said that 85 percent of asylum seekers in Berlin were living in schools, gyms, a disused airport and various other large buildings

that the authorities had repurposed for housing.

That same month, city officials announced that a house in the Moabit district, which had sheltered Berlin's homeless for 20 years, would also be used to house refugees. The company managing the property plans to carve up the larger rooms into two, placing asylum-seekers alongside Berlin's destitute.

Though Berlin may be struggling, the government has asked other parts of Germany to take in far higher numbers of refugees. In 2015, the southern states of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg were responsible for processing 28 percent of all asylum applications. Chancellor Angela Merkel is under particular pressure from voters and politicians in these regions to change her policy toward refugees.

"This cannot go on any longer," says Philipp Lengsfeld, a member of parliament from the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the party led by Merkel. "The numbers need to come down. Refugees and migrants are leaving camps

BY  
**MIRREN GIDDA**  
[@MirrenGidda](#)







**PRAYING FOR A MERKEL:** Asylum-seekers in Budapest last September hold up a poster of Germany's chancellor, who raised high hopes among those seeking refuge in Europe.





outside of Europe and simply coming to another here. We need to further change our laws, we need border controls in Germany.”

In late 2015, as news spread of Merkel’s open-door policy for refugees, asylum-seekers began entering the country in far greater numbers than ever before, reaching 1.1 million arrivals by the end of December. This year, refugee advocacy organizations expect the rate of new arrivals to stay the same or increase. In January 2016, 91,671 people sought asylum in Germany. That was a decline compared with the previous month, owing perhaps to worsening weather conditions, but it was still very high compared with the previous year’s first quarter. In the first three months of 2015, Germany received just 73,120 asylum applications.

Many of the new arrivals are now being met with hostility. The November 13 attacks in Paris, and the hundreds of alleged sexual assaults and robberies in cities across Germany on New Year’s Eve, have hardened the public’s attitude toward refugees. Police in both countries have said asylum-seekers were among those responsible for the attacks.

Cologne, where the greatest number of attacks occurred, is in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. In 2015, the federal government said North Rhine-Westphalia would take 21 percent of all arrivals, the highest quota for any state in Germany. Now many German politicians are calling for much stricter immigration controls. Merkel, some say, has made a catastrophic error. A poll published in *Focus* magazine on January 29 found that 40 percent of the Germans surveyed wanted “Mama Merkel” to resign over her refugee policy.

The chancellor finds herself in a difficult position. As someone who grew up in East Germany, she knows what it is like to be deprived of freedom and opportunity. She, like most Germans, is also deeply conscious of the role the country played in two world wars. But after the attacks in Cologne, she is under increasing pressure to tack to the right.

Many Germans have already begun adopt-

ing hard-line views. After the New Year’s Eve attacks, the anti-Islam group Pegida saw a surge in support. On January 9, it organized a march through Cologne. Around 1,700 Germans attended the demonstration. Three days later, 250 right-wing rioters swept through Leipzig, looting and destroying buildings that belonged to immigrants.

Pegida was not the only anti-immigrant group to attract new followers. On January 19, a poll published in *Bild* magazine found that 12.5 percent of those surveyed would vote for the right-wing Alternative for Germany (AfD) party in the next election. This makes it the third most popular party in the country. In November, the AfD was polling at 10.5 percent. The party’s leader, Frauke Petry, has said German police “must stop migrants crossing illegally from Austria and, if necessary, use firearms.”

In her annual New Year’s address, Merkel urged Germans not to follow people “with hate in their hearts.” But the chancellor, who governs in a coalition, cannot afford to ignore all of the critics of her refugee policy, particularly her political partners.

On January 26, Horst Seehofer, the leader of the Christian Social Union, the CDU’s Bavarian sister party, said in a letter to the chancellor that he would take her to Germany’s constitutional court unless she changed her policy on

**“THIS CANNOT GO  
ON ANY LONGER. WE  
NEED TO CHANGE OUR  
LAWS, WE NEED BORDER  
CONTROLS IN GERMANY.”**

refugees. Calling for tighter border controls in Germany and an annual quota of 200,000 asylum-seekers, Seehofer wrote, “This development cannot be allowed to continue.”

Within the CDU, Lengsfeld says, most members agree that the situation must change. “Everyone has limits to what they can cope with. Which country has no limits?” he asks. “We want to give shelter for those that need it, but right now the refugee crisis is straining all parts of German society.”

That’s a view shared by Thomas Oppermann, chairman of the parliamentary group of the Social Democratic Party, a center-left party that





**SANCTUARY OF SORTS: More than 1 million asylum-seekers reached Germany last year, many ending up at shelters like this one at a former airport in Berlin.**



makes up the rest of the ruling coalition. “We urgently need to reduce the high numbers of refugees arriving in Germany,” Oppermann says. He added that Germany cannot afford to have the same numbers arrive in 2016 that came in 2015.

Of the 1.1 million asylum-seekers who arrived in Germany last year, Lengsfeld says, 50 percent were denied permission to remain. (Very few of this number came from the war-torn countries of Syria and Iraq. Nationals from those two countries have high acceptance rates in Germany.) But, Lengsfeld adds, once they’re in the country, it’s very difficult to remove them. “There are huge practical problems with sending people back. Lawyers and activists get involved, there are all sorts of measures to delay the return process. Once people cross our border, we struggle to send them home.”

With the German general election due to be held in 2017, Merkel may hope she has time to

quiet the voices of dissent within her government. At first she tried pushing for long-term solutions to the problem, including giving 3 billion euros in aid to Turkey in November to help it crack down on the smuggling of refugees to Europe, and improving conditions in refugee camps to discourage Syrians from leaving. But politicians within the coalition, increasingly worried about the AfD’s surge in support, began lobbying in January for immediate solutions.

On January 28, Merkel announced that asylum-seekers from Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria will probably be denied asylum in Germany unless they can prove they are victims of persecution. Police say many of the New Year’s Eve attackers were of North African origin, which may partly explain the chancellor’s new policy.

Two days later, Merkel said that many of the refugees Germany had taken in were on temporary visas and that refugees from Syria and Iraq would be sent back to their countries once the wars there end. She did not clarify whether refugees would still be allowed to apply for permanent residency if they stayed for longer than the three years the temporary permits allow.

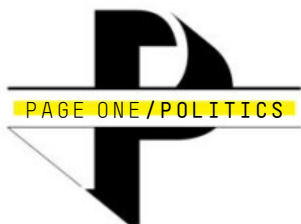
Some German politicians, including Lengsfeld, say it will likely be several years before that happens. “I was a little surprised by that announcement,” Lengsfeld says. “I’m just not sure how realistic it is.”

Merkel is also looking increasingly isolated among the traditionally liberal Northern European nations. In November, Sweden announced an end to its open-door policy, saying that asylum-seekers would be subject to rigorous identity checks and that the right of refugees to bring their families over would be restricted.

As Sweden’s deputy prime minister, Åsa Romson, announced the news, she started to cry. As a member of the country’s left-wing Green Party, she governs in a coalition with the Social Democrats. Her party strongly supported accepting refugees, but the country’s prime minister, Social Democrat Stefan Löfven, said during the same conference that Sweden “cannot do any more.”

Across Western Europe, the generosity of 2015 seems to be ebbing. For many refugees, Germany was the last country where they thought they could be assured asylum, but now even the wealthiest, most welcoming country in Europe is starting to struggle with accepting them. As Merkel seeks to appease her critics with more restrictions, it is looking increasingly uncertain where the refugees will now go. But one thing is clear: Even as borders close, they are still determined to come. ■





## PSST! WANNA KNOW A (NOT) SECRET?

Hillary Clinton and Colin Powell had classified documents in their email accounts. It's not a scandal. It's not even important

**THE SHOCKING** truth about the last two Republican secretaries of state has finally come out: Colin Powell and aides to Condoleezza Rice trafficked in classified information on their personal email accounts. This is an enormous scandal!

Oh, wait. No, it's not.

This news involving Powell and Rice is meaningless except that it sets up a rational conversation (finally) about the Hillary Clinton bogus "email-gate" imbroglio. Perhaps the partisans on each side will now be more willing to listen to the facts. From the beginning, the "scandal" about Clinton using a personal email account when she was secretary of state—including the finding that a few documents on it were retroactively deemed classified—has been a big nothing-burger perpetuated for partisan purposes, with reports spooned out by Republicans attempting to deceive or acting out of ignorance. Conservative commentators have raged, presidential candidates have fallen over themselves in apoplectic babbling, and some politicians have proclaimed that Clinton should be in jail for mishandling classified information. The nonsense has been never-ending, and attempts to cut through the duplicity have been fruitless.

But Powell and Rice's aides did nothing wrong. (I'll focus on them so partisans who say Clinton

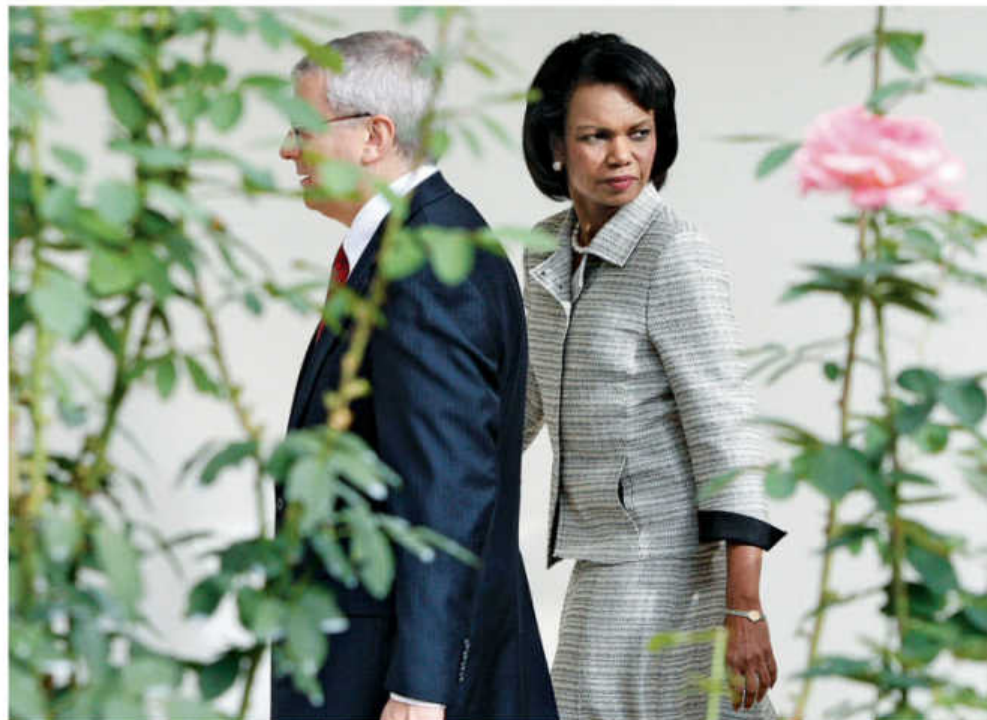
broke the law have to attack respected Republicans as well.) Start with this: Powell and Rice, like all modern secretaries of state, had at least two email accounts—one personal and one for communications designated as highly classified. For classified information, both of them—and aides with appropriate clearance—had a sensitive compartmented information facility, or SCIF. Most senior officials who deal with classified information have a SCIF in their offices and their homes.

These are not just extra offices with a special lock. Each SCIF is constructed following complex rules imposed by the intelligence and defense communities to ensure that no unauthorized personnel can get into the room, and the SCIF cannot be accessed by hacking or electronic eavesdropping. A technical surveillance countermeasures team (TSCM) investigates the area or activity to check that all communications are protected from outside surveillance and cannot be intercepted.

Most permanent SCIFs have physical and technical security, called TEMPEST. The facility is guarded and operational 24 hours a day, seven days a week; any official on the SCIF staff must have the highest security clearance. There is supposed to be sufficient personnel continuously present to observe the primary, secondary

BY  
**KURT EICHENWALD**  
[@kurteichenwald](https://twitter.com/kurteichenwald)





**NO FAIR LOOKING BACK: Clinton, Powell and Rice's aides didn't break the law regarding the handling of information that wasn't deemed classified at the time it was sent.**

and emergency exit doors of the SCIF. Each SCIF must apply fundamental red-black separation to prevent the inadvertent transmission of classified data over telephone, power or signal lines.

I could keep going for thousands of words explaining the extraordinary security measures used for SCIFs. And all of this is to protect the confidentiality of emails and communications determined to be classified at the time of transmission.

In addition to the classified email system used in SCIFs, there are personal email accounts. Prior to 2013, these could be accounts inside the relatively unsecure State Department system or private email accounts. If they are private—running through a commercial or personal server—they have to follow some rules set up in the Federal Register. There are no guards, no red-black procedures, no construction rules, no special rooms, no TEMPEST, no TSCM. And most important: Until 2013, there was no rule against using them. In fact, the rules specifically allowed for them. Check out the relevant section in the Code of Federal Regulations (36 CFR Chapter XII, Subchapter B, section 1236.22b) for the rules regarding the use of personal email accounts by any State Department official.

To give an idea of how insecure these communications could be, Powell's personal email was an AOL account, and he used it on a laptop to communicate with foreign officials and ambassadors, unless the information qualified for a SCIF. (Clinton sent only one email to a foreign dignitary through her personal account, and her communications with ambassadors

were, for the most part, by phone.)

So did Powell and the aides to Rice violate rules governing classified information, since the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) staff has recently determined that some of their years-old personal emails contain top-secret material? No. The rules regarding the handling of classified information apply to communications designated as secret at that time. If documents that aren't deemed classified, and aren't handled through a SCIF when they are created or initially transmitted, are later, in retrospect, deemed secret, the classification is new—and however the record was handled in the past is irrelevant.

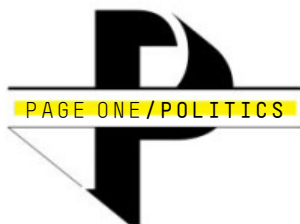
There is also an enormous difference between a secretary of state sending an email to someone inside the department and that same email

being released to the public. Put simply, as anyone who has filed a Freedom of Information Act request knows, not every email or other item can be handed out, even if it was not originally deemed to be so confidential that it required SCIF procedures. The determination of what State Department documents can be publicly released is handled by the FOIA staff, both in the State

## PEOPLE OUTRAGED BY THE (FALSE) BELIEF THAT POWELL AND RICE'S AIDES BROKE THE LAW ARE CREATING A FANTASY WORLD.

Department and, when appropriate, by officials with the same duties in the intelligence community. In fact, the entire issue right now regarding the emails of every secretary of state concerns which ones can be released under the FOIA. People outraged by the (false) belief that Powell and Rice's aides broke the law are creating a fantasy world where every official email, no matter its content, must go through a SCIF in case the FOIA staff determines, sometime in the future and by applying different standards, that the information





in the email should not be released to the public under a FOIA request out of classification concerns. Given the cumbersome procedures of using a SCIF, that would mean the secretary of state would have to spend a lot of time sitting inside a locked box sending emails not yet designated as containing secret information, solely to avoid the partisan gnashing of teeth if the FOIA staff were to retroactively decide they should not be released to the public because of classification concerns.

Which brings us to the next most important issue here: classification. Members of Congress should—and probably do—know this, but the public apparently doesn't. Just because the FOIA staff decides a document is top secret doesn't mean it contains information of any import. (It's widely known that, even in the creation of a document, the government over-classifies information, meaning communications are deemed secret that don't need to be, but that's another issue.) The FOIA staff is supposed to be extra-cautious when releasing a document to the public. As I mentioned in a previous column, that is why anyone wanting to obtain a document should file multiple FOIA requests for the information—one staffer might deem something secret that another staffer releases without concern. In fact, if someone were to submit a FOIA request for every email in the State Department that has been sent over a system without the extreme protections reserved for information determined to be top secret on creation, there is no doubt that the FOIA staff would call many of the emails classified and refuse the request.

Plus, both Powell and Rice had the authority, granted by President George W. Bush through executive order, to classify and declassify any document created by the State Department. So if either of them had received an email from another agency containing information that had not gone through a SCIF, he or she could have independently declared that it did not need to be secret and sent it along to anyone they chose.

In other words, just because the FOIA staff years later labeled emails sent from Powell and

Rice's aides as classified does not mean those records contain some crown jewels of critical intelligence. In fact, usually they are quite benign. I have seen emails called "top secret" that contained nothing more than a forwarded news article that had been published. (The Associated Press has reported that one of Clinton's "secret" emails contains an AP article.)

Then there is the issue of servers. Where did Powell and Rice's staff have their servers? Who knows, and who cares? Maybe they were private with special security and no public access. Or maybe they were just an AOL server. Whichever it was, they would be just as open to hacking as the State Department servers. In fact, the State Department general email system has been hacked multiple times, with terabytes of information improperly downloaded in 2006 alone. There has been no indication that the email accounts of either Powell or Rice's staff were compromised.

Powell may have made one mistake in all this. He has said he never backed up his emails or printed them out; that was necessary to comply

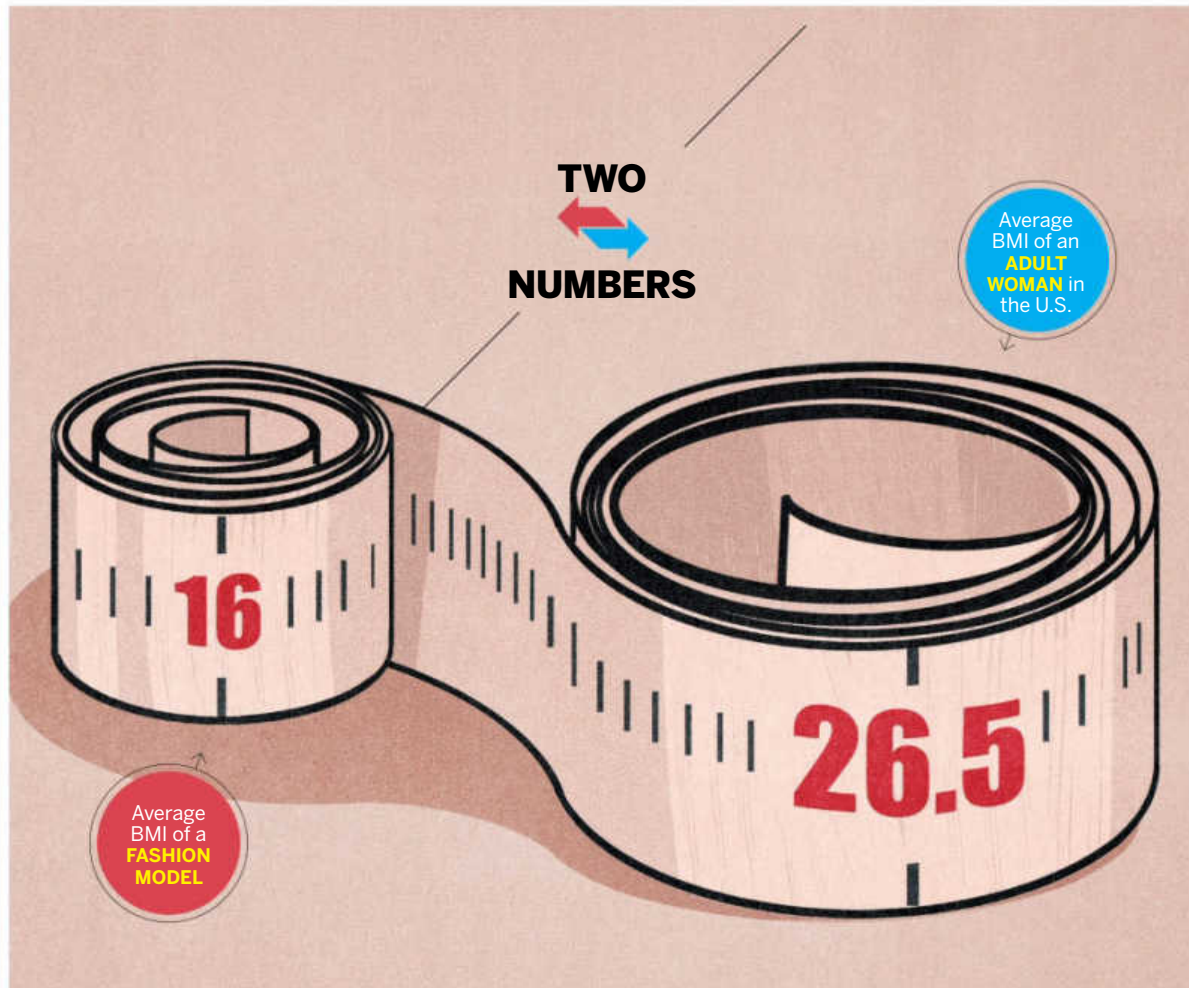
## JUST BECAUSE THE FOIA STAFF DECIDES A DOCUMENT IS TOP SECRET DOESN'T MEAN IT CONTAINS INFORMATION OF ANY IMPORT.

with some of the preservation rules detailed in the Federal Register. Of course, that doesn't mean they can't be recovered, since the FOIA staff is now reviewing his emails.

The bottom line: Democrats may try to turn the revelations about the email accounts used by Powell and Rice's staff into a scandal. They may release press statements condemning the former secretaries of state; they may call for scores of unnecessary congressional hearings; they may go to the press and confidently proclaim that crimes were committed by these honorable Republicans. But it would all be lies. Powell and Rice did nothing wrong. This could be considered a scandal only by ignorant or lying partisans.

So there is no Powell or Rice email scandal. And no doubt, that will infuriate the Republicans who are trying so hard to trick people into believing Clinton committed a crime by doing the exact same thing as her predecessors. ■





## Healthy Models? Fat Chance

HIGH FASHION SENDS THE AVERAGE AMERICAN WOMAN RUNNING TO THE FRIDGE

"Nothing tastes as good as skinny feels," supermodel Kate Moss once told a reporter when asked if she had any mottoes she lived by. Her waifish figure marked the start of "heroin chic," fronted by runway models so impossibly thin you wanted to check them into rehab with a couple of sandwiches.

This beauty ideal became de rigueur in the industry; the average runway model has a body mass index (BMI) of 16, which the World Health Organization classifies as severely thin. And for the average young woman, living up to that sort of

expectation is enough to send her into an emotional tailspin and a lifetime battle against her bulge. "We do know from years of psychology and public health research that shame and body dissatisfaction lead to weight gain," says S. Bryn Austin, a professor of social and behavioral sciences at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. But, Austin says, we tend to forget the plight of the models. Because most women have curves, the fashion industry tends to employ girls who have barely gone through puberty. Austin says most suffer

"coerced starvation," in an effort to remain employed as living "clothes hangers."

And the idea that models have fast metabolisms is mostly a myth. "There are stories about these young girls who are eating tissues to try to take up space in their stomachs and quell stomach pains," says Austin, who recently published an editorial in the *American Journal of Public Health* calling for the U.S. fashion industry to enforce regulations that would make it illegal to employ runway models with a BMI of less than 18.

In December, France

passed a law to that effect, which also requires a model to show up to work with a doctor's note that certifies she is in good health. Companies and modeling agencies that don't comply can be fined more than \$80,000. Spain, Italy and Israel have similar laws.

But in the U.S., where the average adult woman is a size 14 and has a BMI of 26.5—medically overweight, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention—child labor laws are an afterthought. Vodka soda and tissues, anyone?

BY  
**JESSICA FIRGER**  
@jessafirger

SOURCES: AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC HEALTH, CDC



## THE LONER

# Why Bernie Sanders is happy to fly solo on foreign policy

**THE ANNOUNCEMENT** should have given Bernie Sanders a thrill. Only hours before the candidate's February 4 debate with Hillary Clinton in New Hampshire, Saudi Arabia said it was ready to send ground troops into Syria as part of a U.S.-led coalition. He might even have claimed some vindication, since he's said for months, as he would that night, that "the key doctrine of the Sanders administration would be...we can't continue to do it alone. We need to work in coalition."

But no. The debate came and went without Sanders (or Clinton) making note of the development. Perhaps the Vermont senator chose not to say anything about the Saudi announcement. Perhaps he didn't know about it. His campaign did not readily respond when *Newsweek* inquired.

Had Sanders made much of the Saudi pledge, however—a nonstarter, according to experts who note that the kingdom has no real expeditionary army and its Yemen offensive has turned into a quagmire—he may well have been drawn into questions about whether he favored putting U.S. boots on the ground in Syria, now that the Saudis said they would come along.

And his answer may have dismayed his idealistic followers. Few probably know that most of the dozen foreign policy professionals he's consulted over the past year come from the Washington "establishment" he so deprecates. Many are national security hawks.

One of them is Ray Takeyh. The Iran-born scholar is one of the foreign policy establishment's leading hawks on Tehran. Takeyh says



it was "kind of commendable" that Sanders, whose outlier campaign was then gaining surprising traction against Clinton, would reach out to him "in a city where people talk only to those they agree with." Sanders, of course,

BY  
**JEFF STEIN**  
[@spytalker](#)



**ANTI-SOCIAL:** Sanders doesn't have the usual coterie of policy advisers who attach themselves to serious national candidates like pilot fish on a whale.



favors the nuclear deal with Iran.

"He told me that when he deals with a complex set of issues, he wants to hear from all perspectives," Takeyh tells *Newsweek*. He says Sanders listened closely, took notes and revealed little or nothing of his views during their talk.

Another pillar of the Washington establishment, Lawrence Korb, a former senior Pentagon official in the Ronald Reagan administration, got the same treatment. Sanders asked for his views on "nuclear modernization, ISIS, defense spending, those kind of issues" and took close notes.

The thing that struck Korb was that there were "just two other people in the room" when they met, neither of whom had a foreign policy background. That was definitely odd: At this point in a successful campaign, presidential candidates are traditionally flanked by at least one credentialed national security adviser. That person, in turn, creates a tangled web of ex-generals, former officials and think tank scholars to lend the campaign an aura of grand expertise.

Sanders has none—zero—even as he plunges into the primaries beyond New Hampshire. His lone named senior foreign policy adviser, Caryn Compton, who doubles as his Senate legislative director, has no apparent experience in the field. Before coming to work for Sanders in 2013, she spent two years as legislative director for Representative Eddie Bernice Johnson, a Texas Democrat. Compton did not respond to interview requests.

What's also notable about Sanders's limited list of foreign policy consults is the lack of any input even from expected quarters on the political left. While the likes of Michael Walzer, a Princeton University professor who has expounded theories about "just war," and Tamara Cofman Wittes, a former deputy assistant secretary of state in the Obama administration, have gotten calls from the candidate, foreign policy specialists at such liberal-left redoubts as the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) are still waiting for their phones to ring.

"I have no idea who Bernie is listening to on security and foreign affairs," says Phyllis Benis, director of the New Internationalism Project at IPS. Likewise, leftist icon Noam Chomsky tells *Newsweek* he has "no idea who his advisers are, or who he is close to."

Norman Solomon, a prominent left-wing activist, charged last summer that Sanders's few public pronouncements on foreign policy were "scarcely different than President Obama's current stance...and hardly distinguish him from his rivals for the nomination."

Many of Sanders's devotees might also be

surprised to learn that while he denounces wasteful military spending, he's backed the F-35 joint strike force warplane, whose monster cost overruns have earned it the moniker "the jet that ate the Pentagon." Deploying some of those jets to the Vermont Air National Guard (one of many state-based units that rotate in and out of the Middle East) could "maintain hundreds of jobs here," he has said.

And maybe that's why Sanders doesn't care to air many national security issues. As Solomon argued last summer, "Addressing them in any depth might split his growing base of supporters, who have been drawn to his fervent economic populism."

Perhaps. However, assembling rosters of impressive-looking foreign policy advisers provides little more than window dressing to the

---

**"I HAVE NO IDEA WHO BERNIE IS LISTENING TO ON SECURITY AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS."**

---

campaign, says a leading Washington national security expert who's worked closely with past Democratic Party presidential candidates. "But it's part of the evolutionary process," she adds, speaking on condition of anonymity in order to speak freely. "At some point, the candidate has to get a team that he or she says they meet with, whether they meet with them or not."

Nevertheless, such figures serve an important function for a candidate, she adds. "You want to keep everybody happy." Madeleine Albright, as a future secretary of state in the Bill Clinton administration, was a maestro at keeping campaign "advisers" purring, the expert says. When one gave her a 60-page, single-spaced paper, "she asked him to give her his home number, 'so the candidate can reach you over the weekend.'" Of course, Clinton never called, but the adviser was thrilled.

"Bernie Sanders is not playing the game," the expert notes. But the absence of a national security expert at his elbow, someone who can flag and interpret fast-moving foreign developments for him, signals a glaring liability, she says. It demonstrates that Sanders is "definitely a loner." In the end, of course, his followers may decide that's pretty much what they want in the White House—somebody who thinks for himself. ■



## FASHION VICTIMS

The government of Egyptian President Abdel-Fattah el-Sissi is increasingly concerned with how women dress

**GABER NASSAR** sits in his ornate office, behind a huge oak desk covered with piles of papers, as he explains why his university recently banned women from teaching while wearing the niqab, a veil that covers the face but reveals the eyes. “Everyone has the right to dress how they want, but on one condition: Don’t break the rules,” says Nassar, the president of Cairo University, one of Egypt’s oldest academic institutions.

Some members of Nassar’s staff disagree and filed suit to overturn the ban. He jabs his finger at a binder filled with details of all 77 female university employees who wear the niqab. Nassar says the ban was informed by research showing a correlation between classes taught by women who wear that veil and low grades. (He declined *Newsweek*’s repeated requests to share this evidence.) On January 19, a court upheld the ban, but the plaintiffs are expected to appeal.

Nassar insists the ban is not related to politics. But critics say it is part of the Egyptian government’s crackdown on dissent, particularly from citizens it suspects might support the Muslim Brotherhood, the outlawed Islamist movement. Since President Abdel-Fattah el-Sissi came to power in July 2013 in a coup that ousted democratically elected President Mohammed Morsi, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, the Egyptian government has effectively banned protests and imprisoned tens of thousands of people, both Islamists and pro-democracy activists.

The el-Sissi government has also involved itself in the personal lives of Egyptians in ways the autocratic Hosni Mubarak, who was toppled in 2011, never did. In the run-up to his election in 2014, el-Sissi said, “State institutions have to help us regulate morals that we all think are problematic.” In November, he approved the creation of a committee designed to “improve the morals and values of Egyptian society.” Analysts say this campaign stems from el-Sissi’s wish to present the state as the true guardian of Islam and its values, rather than the ousted Muslim Brotherhood or the extremists of the Islamic State militant group (ISIS). “The threat to Egypt’s security is real, but the past two years show that the authorities’ heavy-handed response has only led to more division,” Nadim Houry, deputy Middle East director of Human Rights Watch, said in a January report.

The battle over public morality is a daily one for many Egyptians—and the question of what women should wear has increasingly taken center stage. Critics say the Cairo University ban on the niqab—often misinterpreted as a sign of the wearer’s political leanings—is part of a wider movement by public institutions to control what women wear. In October’s elections, officials banned women from voting if they were wearing the niqab, while the prime minister’s elections adviser told international observers not to show up at polling stations in “hot shorts.” Last year, debates raged on social media over upscale Cairo



BY  
**RUTH MICHAELSON**  
@Ms\_R



venues that banned women wearing the hijab.

Wearing too little can get women into trouble too. When the newly appointed immigration minister, Nabila Makram Abdel Shahid, was sworn in as a Cabinet member this past September, a TV host criticized her for wearing short sleeves. Last April, belly dancer Safinaz (who goes by a single name) received six months in prison after being accused of “insulting the Egyptian flag” because she performed a dance while wearing a costume thought to resemble the national flag (she was acquitted in September). Last June, a Cairo court sentenced dancer Salma al-Foly to a year in prison with hard labor for “harming public morals” in a suggestive music video. The Egyptian Musicians Syndicate later banned revealing stage outfits.

If there is a model for how the government wants women to dress, it’s probably Egypt’s first lady, Intisar Amer, says Dalia Abdel Hamid of the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights. She favors the “Spanish-style” hijab, or head scarf,

worn like a bandanna tied in a bun at the nape of the neck. Local news outlets have described her look as “conservative yet trendy” and “demure,” and have contrasted her with the “ultra-conservative” wife of Morsi, who wore a flowing veil.

Critics say the focus on public morals is an attempt to direct attention away from the

## ONLY 14 PERCENT OF EGYPTIANS BELIEVE WOMEN SHOULD BE ABLE TO WEAR WHATEVER THEY WANT.

**ACADEMIC FREEDOM:** Cairo University previously banned both students and staff from wearing the niqab in 2009, but that was overturned by a court. In September, it banned staff from wearing the niqab.

+

growing conflict with jihadi militants and a struggling economy. El-Sissi has spoken of his desire for Islam to undergo what he calls a reformation. “When Sissi talks about religious reformation, he wants religion to sound sensible and relevant,” says H.A. Hellyer of the Atlantic Council in Washington, D.C. “But he also wants it as much as possible to be a tool of the state.”

The government’s sartorial strictures may draw criticism, but polls suggest they are in line with public opinion. A University of Michigan survey in December 2013 found that only 14 percent of Egyptians believe women should be able to wear whatever they want. The survey found that 9 percent of Egyptians thought the niqab was the best way for a woman to dress, compared with 85 percent who favored one of several ways to wear the hijab. Only 4 percent said they thought women should wear their hair uncovered.

Even if they are in the minority, women who wear the niqab are insisting it is their right to dress as they wish. The plaintiffs in the suit against Cairo University say the ban infringes on their civil liberties. “They said there is a barrier to communication between students and professors. This is simply prejudice,” says one plaintiff, a professor who has taught at the Faculty of Medicine for 15 years while wearing the niqab. She asked to not be identified; the women involved in the court case have kept their identities secret from the media, fearing reprisals from the university for speaking out. “Their decision is political,” she adds.

The professor says the ability of students to see a teacher’s face has no bearing on that person’s effectiveness as a lecturer. Besides, she says, “In a lecture hall with 1,000 students and a male lecturer, I don’t think the people from the third row up can [even] see his face.” ■







## LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, TECHNOLOGIE

# The French are shaking off a reputation for stuffy socialism and promoting tech

**THE STANDARD** American critique of French capitalism goes something like this: “The French need to embrace failure and celebrate success”—which is why it’s surprising that these words come from Emmanuel Macron, the French minister of economy, industry and digital affairs under a socialist president.

It’s also a bit of a surprise to see a government minister get mobbed like a member of Daft Punk. When Macron, 38, leaves the stage at the Consumer Electronics Show (CES) in Las Vegas on La French Tech night in January, a string of TV crews and fans leaning in for selfies hold him up. “It’s like this everywhere, even in France,” an aide tells me.

Macron’s trip to Vegas is part of a trend that suggests France is shaking the reputation that once led then-President George W. Bush to say French lacks a word for “entrepreneur” (though the story may be apocryphal).

“We created 1,500 startups last year,” Macron says. By his count, France has five so-called unicorns, the rare startups valued at more than \$1 billion. At CES this year, 30 percent of the new companies at the startup venue Eureka Park were French, making the country the third-biggest representative in that section of the show, after the United States and China.

Part of this stems from a change in attitude. Michael Fernandez, the founder and CEO of Drust, a company that helps people optimize their driving with a gadget that plugs into their dashboard, says the older generation in France

was generally risk-averse, but that has changed, and now entrepreneurs are getting real support from the government. “Just months after we started, we got to meet the president,” he says.

La French Tech, a government program to boost entrepreneurship, sends many business owners to CES. It also runs incubators that pair small firms with major French companies. A large part of the program involves teaching businesspeople to hone their pitches, an area where the French have a lot to learn from their American counterparts, according to Muriel Pénicaud, French ambassador for international investment and CEO of Business France.

“Four, five years ago, our best talent was driven to big companies,” says Pénicaud, who worked in the private sector for years as an executive. “Ten years ago, it was public service. Now it’s startups,” she says. France has 80,000 engineering and 70,000 Ph.D.s students, and Pénicaud says: “France produces 17,000 Ph.D.s every year, and 1 in 3 now wants to create a business.”

France has cut taxes on startups for their first eight years and changed the law to allow them to accept crowdfunding from websites like Kickstarter. France’s financial system used to be not set up to handle the type of risks that are required to form disruptive companies, Pénicaud says. In 2012, the country launched the Public Investment Bank to help small and medium companies obtain loans.

“We have to accelerate that and raise a lot of money for these people very rapidly and very

BY  
**GRANT BURNINGHAM**  
[@granteb](#)



**WHAT 35-HOUR WEEK?** France has cut taxes for start-ups and changed the law to allow firms like Grenoble's Squadrone System, right, to accept funds from websites like Kickstarter.



quickly,” Macron says. “In this very disruptive world, day one you have to be disruptive, and day one you have to be able to raise 100 million euros.”

It may sound government-heavy, but it’s clear what the French are trying to emulate: the rare mix of quality universities, risk-taking tech companies, venture capitalists and the startup ethos that exists in Northern California. “Silicon Valley created the concept of ecosystem. It’s something that’s quite unique, but Israel is copying it, and so are China and France,” Pénicaud says.

The ecosystem is working for entrepreneurs like Clément Guillot, who quit a lucrative job doing publicity for a major French TV channel to launch a weather and data company named Wezzoo. Guillot is in Las Vegas to show off Ombrella, a personal weather station that gathers data from which the app creates hyper-local alerts—warning that it may rain in a specific spot in 10 minutes, for instance. At CES, he has been waking early, hitting morning shows before dawn to show off his invention, returning to his hotel for a few hours of sleep, then manning his booth at Eureka Park all day to meet distributors, other entrepreneurs and public relations companies. Guillot says his co-founders—an engineer and a Ph.D.—cost the

## “FRANCE PRODUCES 17,000 PH.D.S EVERY YEAR, AND 1 IN 3 NOW WANTS TO CREATE A BUSINESS.”

company “almost nothing” because of government programs to encourage hiring.

While France has made clear progress—in just the past six months, Cisco, Microsoft, Facebook and Intel have all announced big investments in French technology—there are still challenges. Many still see high tax rates as hurting investors, and the World Bank ranks France 27th on the list of the best countries in the world to do business.

Romain Lacombe, CEO and founder of Plume Labs, a company that tracks air pollution and can help you pick the optimal time for a jog, says Europe’s lagging economy has pushed young people to take chances. “Since the crisis, the economy hasn’t completely recovered,” he says. “For a lot of graduates that come out of incredible math and engineering schools that would have gone into easy jobs, one of the only things they can do that gives them a sense of having control over their own careers is to build things.” **N**





## THE AL-QAEDA SHOW

The journalist who spent weeks filming suicide bombers from the Nusra Front in Syria gives *Newsweek* an exclusive peek

ON MAY 20, Norwegian filmmaker Paul Refsdal was in a village in the northern Syrian province of Aleppo when he heard an explosion. Camera in hand, he jumped into a white minibus driven by a fighter from the Nusra Front, Al-Qaeda's

affiliate in Syria. The bus drove three miles to the nearby town of Tawama, where Refsdal—and the fighters he was with—inspected the damage.

A U.S.-led coalition airstrike had hit a base in the town, leaving at least 10 people dead.

BY  
**JACK MOORE**  
[@JFXM](https://twitter.com/JFXM)





**+**  
HERE, SOME-  
WHERE: Refsdal  
says the group let  
him film openly and  
without censorship,  
only insisting that  
some locations be  
obscured to avoid  
revealing positions  
to their enemies.

Refsdal's footage shows Nusra Front fighters struggling to lift the rubble from their "brothers." A clean-shaven civilian speaks angrily into the camera, saying the airstrike has targeted civilian homes and killed innocent people.

A Nusra fighter interrupts. "Easy now. There is both a military base and civilians here. Tell the truth. Tell them what happened," adding that the blast's intended target was, after all, a Nusra base. Refsdal understood the implicit message from the Al-Qaeda member: Film what you want—we're not going to feed you propaganda.

To his surprise, Refsdal found that the group remained committed to letting a Western journalist film the fighters openly and without censorship. The result is Refsdal's new documentary, *Dugma: The Button*, which he showed exclusively to *Newsweek* ahead of its premiere in Oslo, Norway, on March 10. It provides an unusually intimate look at some of the most demonized figures of modern conflict—suicide bombers. (The film will be broadcast on TV in at least four European countries in March.)

Refsdal says the group did not censor his footage at the end of his trip. Its only request was that he not film certain fighters or the exteriors of any houses. The group did not want the footage to help its many enemies identify its bases and safe houses.

Refsdal is a freelance journalist who has spent more than three decades reporting from conflict zones around the world; he has previously worked with rebel groups in Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Nicaragua and Kosovo. *Dugma*, which he shot over the course of two trips to Syria in December 2014 and May to June 2015, follows two Al-Qaeda-affiliated suicide bombers battling President Bashar al-Assad's dictatorial regime in Syria: Lucas Kinney, a 26-year-old British convert from West London, who is now known as Abu Basir al-Britani, and Abu Qaswara al-Maki, a 32-year-old Saudi national.

Refsdal spent a total of six weeks embedded with the Nusra fighters. His film offers the viewer a close look at the two men, who talk about their beliefs, their worries and their desires. We learn, for instance, that al-Maki loves singing and fried chicken, and that al-Britani, recently married, is now having second thoughts about martyrdom. His wife is expecting their first child, and he is torn about leaving his family behind. The would-be suicide bombers come across as complicated and even sympathetic human beings.



The U.S. and the EU consider Nusra a terrorist organization, with considerable justification. In the course of the war, the group has taken time out from fighting Assad's forces to kidnap 13 Greek Orthodox nuns and 45 Fijian peacekeepers, execute four Lebanese soldiers, and imprison and torture American journalist Theo Padnos for almost two years until his release in August 2014. In November 2015, Nusra spokesmen and supporters praised the attacks that month in Beirut and Paris that together left more than 170 people dead.

Refsdal's opportunity to embed with Nusra in the war-torn provinces of Idlib, Aleppo and Latakia arose after an earlier trip in 2013 to Latakia with Harakat Sham al-Islam, a Moroccan jihadi group founded by three ex-Guantánamo

**“NUSRA DO KIDNAP PEOPLE, OR ARREST THEM. BUT THAT IS IF THEY ENTER THEIR AREA WITHOUT PERMISSION.”**

Bay detainees. While in Syria, he began to think about whether he might be able to embed with Nusra, one of the most influential jihadi factions.

Refsdal had reason to believe the group might be open to working with him. In May 2011, U.S. Navy SEALs raided Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden's safe house in Pakistan, killing him in the process. Among the many documents the SEALs took with them when they left the compound was a letter from Al-Qaeda's American-born spokesman, Adam Gadahn, to an unknown recipient. In the letter, Gadahn (who was killed last year in a U.S. counterterrorist operation) suggested more than a dozen journalists that Al-Qaeda should consider cooperating with. Among them was Refsdal, who had embedded with the Taliban in Afghanistan in 2009 while making a documentary on the war there.

The letter refers to Refsdal as "the Norwegian





**+** THE VIEW FROM INSIDE: Refsdal's footage includes the preparation of attacks in Syria.

journalist who spent some time with the students in [Afghanistan] and released a film that was condemned in the West because he shows that the students are humans that have families and children and that they laugh and eat like the rest of the people.”

Refsdal had heard about the letter, which was published online in 2012. In December 2013, after searching for a contact in the group, he and his translator approached a Nusra commander in Latakia. The commander informed Refsdal's translator that he could return in the spring.

In April 2014, Nusra's Latakia media office directed Refsdal to send in what he describes as a “job application.” In addition to a presentation of his earlier work, Refsdal had to explain the need for such a project and describe what the film would entail. He made a point of noting that he had served in the Norwegian military. “The worst thing you can do is lie to these people and they discover it,” he says.

Nusra accepted Refsdal's proposal in July 2014. He managed to secure funding from the Norwegian Film Institute, which is run by the country's Ministry of Culture, a Norwegian film center called Viken and Fritt Ord, a Norwegian private foundation that supports freedom of expression. (Refsdal struggled to find any TV

stations willing to send a journalist to Syria, because it was so dangerous. But after filming was over, he received further funding from British, German and Danish TV stations for editing and production.)

Refsdal had made a decision very few Western journalists have made in recent years—to go back to rebel-held Syria. Five years into its civil war, Syria has become the world's deadliest arena for journalists. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, 91 journalists have been killed in Syria since 2012. After the Islamic State militant group (ISIS) beheaded American journalists James Foley and Steven Sotloff in 2014, most news organizations and freelance journalists decided that rebel-held Syria was off-limits.

So why did Refsdal feel he could trust his hosts? “Nusra do kidnap people, or arrest them,” says Refsdal. “But that is if they enter their area without permission.” He believes the group is sufficiently sophisticated to understand the potential upside to letting in a Western journalist—even if it restricts access to journalists approved by its late leader's inner circle.

“I think Al-Qaeda in general need to have some relations with journalists to bring their message out,” says Refsdal. “They don't have to accept that these journalists are 100 percent in



their favor, but if they can trust them to give a fair coverage, I think that's OK." It was a deal Refsdal was willing to make, and a risk he was prepared to accept.

When he arrived in Syria from Oslo, he and his local translator drove for an hour across Syrian territory to reach the Nusra media office, located somewhere in Latakia province, in the northwest of the country. (Refsdal declined to name the town or to give more details about how he got into Syria.) There they met up with Nusra fighters.

Refsdal says the group made efforts to ensure his security while he was embedded with them, advising him to dress as a fighter. In the town of Harem, in the northwestern province of Idlib, the group's foot soldiers warned him to lock his doors because ISIS members were in the town. In Aleppo province, the group dispatched a Nusra *shari* (religious leader) to defuse tensions when a group of Chechens in an Internet café accused Refsdal of being a spy.

For the most part, Refsdal says he felt safe. In the evenings, the group would retreat from the front lines to villages, where Refsdal could walk around freely or spend time in Internet cafés connecting with his family back in Norway. "[Nusra] were just happy for me to be alone if I wanted to be alone," he says.

"It sounds very difficult and very dangerous, but when you are there, everything is easier in a way," he says, explaining that it was much easier to communicate with the Nusra troops in Syria (who were largely educated and spoke good English) than with the Taliban fighters he had met in Afghanistan.

Refsdal may have felt safe with Nusra, but he also had to consider the legal implications of embedding with a designated terrorist organization that considers itself part of the group that perpetrated the September 11, 2001, attacks in the U.S. Martin Bernsen, senior adviser at the Norwegian Police Security Service, the country's equivalent of the FBI, tells *Newsweek* the filmmaker was not detained for questioning upon his return to Norway because he did not pledge allegiance to an extremist group or join its ranks. Nevertheless, Refsdal's embed brought him face to face with the preparation of terrorist attacks, which means he has a fairly in-depth knowledge about the group's workings.

In one scene in the documentary, for instance, al-Maki shows Refsdal around an armored truck in which a *dugma* (button) is located next to the driver's seat and connected to an explosive device in the trunk. (In a suicide mission,



the assailant drives toward a target and presses the button on impact.) Another scene, captured by Nusra and handed to Refsdal, shows a Turkish Nusra fighter detonating his explosive vehicle amid shouts of "*Allahu akbar*" (God is great). The film alternates between such moments of high drama and scenes of disarmingly ordinary daily life. Shortly afterward, we see al-Maki ordering *kabsa*, an Arabic dish of meat and rice, in a restaurant with fellow fighters and making a phone call to his mother in Saudi Arabia.

At another point in the film, as al-Britani clips roses in the garden of a Nusra safe house, another fighter jokes that he is "like [ISIS] to the flowers—he decapitates them."

There's a tension built into these scenes, and indeed in every moment of the film, because the viewer is always wondering: Did they end up doing it? Are the men we're watching already dead? Refsdal asked *Newsweek* not to reveal the fates of one of the suicide bombers. The other, al-Britani, does not carry out a suicide mission

---

## THE VIEWER IS ALWAYS WONDERING: DID THEY END UP DOING IT? ARE THE MEN WE'RE WATCHING ALREADY DEAD?

---

because he is part of a "long waiting list." The Norwegian journalist says he is happy to make public this detail because he believes that al-Britani's mother, Deborah Phipps, is "very worried" about her son. Refsdal and his producer, Ingvil Giske, are attempting to locate Phipps to show her the footage of her son.

Giske says Refsdal has made a film that challenges the world's perceptions of extremist groups. "He's trying to say that they are normal people and we have to treat them like normal people," she says. Come March, audiences can make up their own minds about that. ■



## WHOM WOULD JESUS LOCK UP?

Belief in a punitive or forgiving God guides how people think about the death penalty and prisoner rehabilitation

**CLARENCE DARROW** was right: Religion guides how harshly people view criminal defendants and felons. “If a Presbyterian enters the jury box and carefully rolls up his umbrella, and calmly and critically sits down, let him go,” the famed defense attorney wrote in a 1936 essay for *Esquire*, “How to Pick a Jury.” “He is cold as the grave; he knows right from wrong, although he seldom finds anything right. He believes in John Calvin and eternal punishment.”

A new study backs up Darrow’s advice, finding that belief in a vengeful God will lead a person to oppose programs that help prisoners re-enter society, while a person who believes in a loving and forgiving God is more likely to support those initiatives. “Stronger feelings of religious forgiveness led to greater support for assisting offenders,” says the study of 386 random Missourians. “The people who had the stronger punitive picture of God were less likely to support transitional programs, things like substance abuse programs,” adds Brett Garland, a professor at Missouri State University and co-author of the study.

Past studies echo the Missouri findings. “Fundamentalists tend to be more punitive. They do believe in ‘an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,’” says Monica Miller, a professor at the University of Nevada, Reno. Miller’s research found more support for the death penalty among those who take the Bible literally and among fundamentalists, who place more weight on the

Old Testament than the New. “Various religious characteristics are related to death penalty attitudes and verdicts.... A defense attorney should eliminate potential jurors who believe in a literal interpretation of the Bible, have fundamentalist beliefs, believe that God requires the death penalty for murderers, and believe that their religious group supports the death penalty,” Miller wrote in a 2007 article.

“I believe the authority that God has is the authority of love, not brute power and punishment,” says Morgan Guyton, a Methodist minister in Louisiana and the director of Christian centers at Tulane and Loyola universities. Guyton says he believes the cross symbolizes God’s solidarity with criminals because Jesus was crucified as a lawbreaker and even expressed his kinship with the robbers who hung beside him. The minister also opposes the death penalty because he believes it is a tragedy for prisoners to be executed before they repent. “That is why every evangelical Christian who believes in salvation and redemption must fiercely resist the state-sanctioned murder of even the coldest-blooded of murderers,” Guyton wrote on his blog in September. “Because we believe that Jesus can save them and they should have every opportunity to hear the gospel until they take their last breath and die of natural causes.”

But other branches of Christianity take a harsher view. “God requires a reckoning for the

BY  
**JOSH SAUL**  
[@joshfromalaska](#)





**CROSS PURPOSES:**  
Some Christians believe the cross symbolizes God's solidarity with criminals because Jesus was crucified as a lawbreaker and expressed kinship with the robbers who hung beside him.

lives of the innocent,” Russell Moore, the president of the Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, said in a 2014 podcast referencing Genesis. “Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed, for God made man in his own image.” Moore went on to quote Romans regarding how governing authorities bear the sword as he argued in favor of capital punishment. “I think that is clearly language that talks about the lethal power of the state that bears the sword only against evil doers. Evil doers face the sword, not the innocent.”

The history of criminal justice in the United States is intertwined with religion, Garland and his co-authors wrote in the article “Religious Beliefs and Public Support for Prisoner Reentry,” which presented their study results in December. “In colonial America, punishments were largely corporal in nature, often quite brutal, and motivated to retaliate against sinfulness,” the article says, before describing two very different approaches to corrections by forgiving Quakers and punitive evangelicals in the years after the American Revolution.

“In Pennsylvania, prominent Quakers led a political movement to establish the penitentiary as ‘repentance-based punishment’ where prisoners were kept in total isolation and complete silence both day and night,” says the article, published in the *Criminal Justice Policy Review* and first covered by The Crime Report. “Quakers

were optimistic about the potential for offender behavioral change, believing that every person had an innate goodness or inner light that connected them directly to God.” Conversely, in New York around the same time, evangelicals with traditional Calvinist and Puritan roots believed in man’s fallen and depraved nature. “For New York reformers, corporal punishment was deemed integral to prison management so that prisoners would feel the wrath of God as a pretext for conversion,” the article says. More recently, political support for the Second Chance Act—a monumental bill that provided government assistance for prisoner re-entry programs nationwide when it passed in 2007—was built partly by citing biblical passages during congressional debates.

Some academics dispute the idea that fundamentalists and those who interpret the Bible literally always take a harsher view toward criminals and prisoners, calling that an outdated notion grounded in dated studies. “Subsequent research found that people who adhere to strict belief of Bible also read the dictums about forgiveness,” East Carolina University professor Mark Jones says, adding that he’s found Pentecostal and Southern Baptists to be just as helpful with prisoner re-entry programs as other groups. A study Jones recently completed on Christian attitudes toward released prisoners showed that Unitari-

## THE HISTORY OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN THE UNITED STATES IS INTERTWINED WITH RELIGION.

ans are the most welcoming toward ex-cons and Roman Catholics the least welcoming, with mainline Protestants and evangelicals in the middle.

In his 1936 essay for *Esquire*, Darrow predicted the views toward criminals and defendants that Guyton, the Methodist, and Moore, the Southern Baptist, would hold almost 80 years later. The guidance he gave defense attorneys for picking sympathetic jurors seems to remain solid.

“The Methodists are worth considering; they are nearer the soil. Their religious emotions can be transmuted into love and charity,” Darrow wrote. “If chance sets you down between a Methodist and a Baptist, you will move toward the Methodist to keep warm.” ■



# Ireland's Body Politics

**By Mirren Gidda**

***This month's general election could be the first step in the legalization of abortion in the traditionally Catholic country***





NOT TO BE  
REMOVED.  
THANK YOU.



Remember Savita  
Another Victim  
of the RC Church





**A BIG CHOICE:** Abortion has become a hot topic before February 26 parliamentary elections, with abortion rights campaigners pressing candidates and parties to commit to a referendum to repeal a constitutional amendment that states the life of a fetus is equal to that of the mother.

**VERY EARLY ONE MORNING**, six days before Christmas, 19-year-old Siobhan walked through her college campus in the dark on the way to a nearby bus stop. She saw no one until she got to the stop and met an international student she knew. Both young women were waiting for a bus to take them to Dublin Airport. The student told Siobhan she was going home to Germany. In response, Siobhan lied. “I’m going to Liverpool for shopping,” she said.

When she landed in Liverpool, Siobhan switched on her phone. She hoped that her parents, who thought she was still at college, wouldn’t try to contact her for the rest of the day. Then she sent a text to her friend, the only person who knew why she was in Liverpool. “Does my number come up weird?” she typed. “Does it say I’m in England?”

Siobhan hailed a taxi at the airport. When she told the driver the drop-off address, he looked at her. “Oh, you’re from Ireland,” he said, and trailed off. It seemed that he had taken several Irish women to that address. They came there to do something that could land them in prison if they were to do it in Ireland. They came to end their pregnancies.

Abortion under nearly all circumstances is illegal in Ireland, and so women like Siobhan, who do not want to carry their unborn fetuses to term, have to find ways to terminate their pregnancies. Many take the short flights from Ireland to cities in England or Wales, where abortion is legal. From 1980 to 2014, a total of 163,514 women—or between 3,300 and 6,700 women every year—have traveled to Britain to obtain abortions, according to the U.K. Department of Health. To the anti-abortion community, every termination

is a tragic loss of life. To abortion rights campaigners, every time a woman travels to an abortion clinic outside Ireland represents a degrading, infuriating compromise of a woman’s right to decide what happens to her body.

The debate over abortion in Ireland has always provoked strong feelings on both sides. But in recent months, the rights and actions of women like Siobhan have been at the center of the country’s political life like never before. On February 26, voters will go to the polls to elect the next Irish Parliament. As campaigners from all parties knock on doors to canvas support, voters often ask them the same two questions: “Where do you stand on abortion? And do you want to repeal the Eighth?”

FROM LEFT: CATHAL MCNAUGHTON/REUTERS; NIAL CARSON/PA/AP; PREVIOUS SPREAD: CATHAL MCNAUGHTON/REUTERS





The second question refers to the Eighth Amendment of the Irish Constitution, which states that the life of a fetus is equal to that of the mother. The amendment, which Parliament adopted in 1983, confirmed the Irish government's commitment to prevent abortion under any circumstances.

Even though abortion was already illegal in Ireland, its constitution gave couples the right to privacy in marital life. Anti-abortion campaigners at the time worried that a court might at some point rule that couples were therefore legally entitled to terminate their unwanted pregnancies.

But the Ireland of 2016 is not the Ireland of 1983. Long one of Europe's most Catholic and conservative countries, its identity is still greatly informed by its Catholic heritage, but it is also a place of high-tech entrepreneurs,

well-traveled and multilingual graduates and a generation or two of young people who increasingly identify as European as much as they do Irish. (The country joined the EU in 1973; Irish people have generally embraced the union.) And the Europe they are drawn to, as Vatican officials have long lamented, is increasingly a place of secularism and empty churches. "Since the 1970s, Ireland has become more urban and aligned with Western and European standards," says Carole Holohan, assistant professor in

**IN RECENT MONTHS, the rights and actions of women like Siobhan have been at the center of the country's political life like never before.**

modern Irish history at Trinity College Dublin. "There isn't such a strong voice emerging from the conservative side."

If those are the pull factors of the globalized world, there are also push factors that have created distance between the Irish and the church—chief among them a series of sex abuse scandals that horrified Catholic-majority countries in recent decades. The first widespread allegations of priests and nuns abusing children in Ireland began to emerge in the 1990s. In 2000, the Irish government commissioned a report that took years to compile and was published in 2009. The 2,600-page document found that the sexual abuse



of children in Catholic-run schools and orphanages had been “endemic,” with thousands of children falling victim. “The Catholic Church has obviously lost its moral authority since the child sex abuse scandals and subsequent cover-up of that,” says Holohan.

It’s hard to trace cause and effect in matters of faith, but the church plays a less important role in the lives of many Irish people today: In 1984, nearly 90 percent of all Irish Catholics attended church weekly. By 2011, this figure had dropped to 18 percent. A decade ago, the idea of allowing

**“WE CAN ALWAYS have something better than abortion; it is never a happy outcome for the people involved.”**

gay marriage in Ireland was barely discussed. In May 2015, a majority of Irish voters chose to legalize gay marriage, making it the first country in the world to do so by popular vote.

But abortion provokes much stronger feelings in Ireland than gay marriage. Same-sex marriage, with its themes of tolerance and love and its pre-vote celebratory street parties, was a much easier sell. Even the most vocal activists for the right to choose are unlikely to hold parades celebrating abortion.

Repealing the Eighth Amendment would represent only a tiny step toward full legalization of abortion. Even if the next Irish government holds a referendum on the amendment and a majority of voters opt to overturn it, Ireland would still be a long way from sharing the same policies as England, Scotland and Wales, where abortion is legal in all circumstances providing the fetus is under 24 weeks old. If the fetus is older, an abortion can still be carried out if there is serious risk to the mother’s life, if permanent injury would be caused to her mental or physical health, or if the fetus has a severe abnormality. But campaigners who are in favor of repeal say it would mean doctors could prioritize the mother’s life. Further legislation

would be needed to allow for abortion in other cases, such as rape or incest. As for abortion for any other reason—that’s not on any political party’s agenda for the foreseeable future.

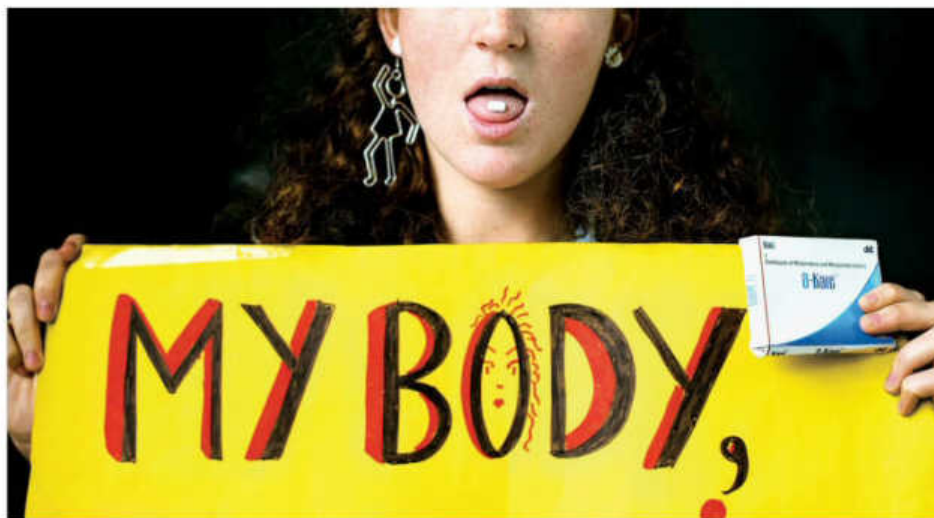
Both the Irish Labour Party, which is in the coalition government, and Sinn Féin, which is polling in third place, have said they support a referendum on repealing the amendment. Enda Kenny, Ireland’s prime minister and leader of the center-right Fine Gael party, has said that if he is re-elected, he will appoint a group of citizens to determine whether Parliament should hold a referendum on the amendment. Several polls predict that the majority of the electorate would vote to repeal it. For many Irish Catholics, such a decision would be a betrayal of their nation’s religious tradition—and of God.

### **‘Abominable Crimes’**

“IT’S A STRANGE kind of human right that says a human being can have its life ended,” says Cora Sherlock, deputy chairwoman of the Dublin-based Pro Life Campaign. “The most important human right is the right to life.”

Sherlock believes abortion inevitably leads to great suffering. She points to women who took pills to cause a miscarriage and suffered bleeding so extensive they were hospitalized, and women needing intensive psychotherapy after opting for a termination. “We can always have something better than abortion; it is never a happy outcome for the people involved,” she says.

Sherlock’s views are common among conservative Catholics in Ireland. The official catechism of the faith reads: “Life must be protected with the utmost care from the moment of conception: abortion and infanticide are abominable crimes.” That is the sort of unbending dogma that has alienated Irish people who have increasingly questioned the moral authority of the church. But even among many Irish Catholics whose attachment to the church has weakened, there remains a deep reluctance to change the laws on abortion. Centuries of history and faith



**VOTING WITH THEIR FEET:** In Ireland, abortion is illegal in all circumstances, including when the mother's life is at risk and in cases of rape or incest. To get around the ban, more than 163,000 women traveled to Britain to obtain abortions between 1980 and 2014.

+





**EMPTY PEWS:** In 1984, nearly 90 percent of all Irish Catholics attended church weekly. By 2011, that figure had fallen to 18 percent. Still, many Irish remain reluctant to make abortion legal.

her. Trisomy is a genetic disorder; sufferers have an extra chromosome in their cells. Down syndrome is the most common form of trisomy, but there are several other types. Wall's fetus was diagnosed with Edwards syndrome, or trisomy 18. Babies with the disorder typically suffer from a range of mental and physical health issues, and only 1 in 12 live beyond the first year. Survival to early adulthood is extremely rare.

The doctor told her, "This baby is incompatible with life." His

are not so easily cast aside.

In the village of Dungarvan in the south of Ireland, not far from where she grew up, 38-year-old Vicky Wall pours coffee and offers biscuits while her newborn son, Odhran, all wrinkles and soft, downy hair, sleeps in a stroller nearby. Wall has two other children, a 17-year-old daughter named Shannon and a 13-year-old son named Taidgh. And not so long ago, there was also Liadán.

In February 2014, Wall, who worked as a retail assistant for the clothing company New Look, found out that she was pregnant. Wall was delighted when she realized she was expecting, but as she entered her second trimester, she began to feel uneasy. Unlike with her first two pregnancies, Wall remembers experiencing an inordinate amount of pain. During a routine scan at 23 weeks, the nurse stopped performing the ultrasound. "Something's showing up," she told Wall. As Wall started to cry, the nurse went to find the doctor. When the doctor arrived, he wrapped his arms round Wall. There was excessive amniotic fluid around the fetus, which appeared to have club feet—signs, perhaps, of a genetic disorder. The doctor referred her to a specialist antenatal clinic in Dublin.

Wall made an appointment, and the doctor there performed an ultrasound. "It looks like trisomy," the doctor told

choice of words jarred the expectant mother. She was already in love with her baby. Wall recalls thinking: No, that's not true—she is compatible. She's compatible with me. Once the doctor had explained that the fetus was likely to die if carried to term, he suggested that Wall "pop to England"—a coded reference to having an abortion.

Wall wept, she says, for the whole three-hour journey home, as she read information about trisomy on her phone. She found reasons both to despair and to believe that her child could, despite the odds, survive outside of the womb.

In the end, Wall did not make the visit to England that thousands of Irish women make every year.

Wall and her partner, Michael, had decided to name their baby, whom they knew was a girl, Liadán, meaning "the gray lady." Thirty-two weeks into her pregnancy, Wall delivered a baby girl. The baby was stillborn. She had no regrets. "[My baby] was never disposable. She was always going to

**"THE CATHOLIC CHURCH has obviously lost its moral authority since the child sex abuse scandals and subsequent cover-up of that."**

be mine," she says. "It meant so much that I got to meet her and knew that she called the shots."

Like most people in Ireland, Wall was raised Catholic. "I was made to go to Mass every week as a kid, but I was terrified of the priests," whom she saw as harsh figures of authority. When she turned 12, she stopped attending church because she no longer felt any connection to its teachings. As an adult, she married but then divorced; the Catholic Church refuses to recognize divorce. She says the religion's doctrines do not matter to her. "Catholicism in Ireland is dying," she adds.

Though Wall no longer practices the faith, her two children have participated in the Catholic rites of christening, baptism and confirmation. This is less out of residual loyalty to the church, she says, and more because they attend a Catholic school where the other children have gone through these



ceremonies. Even now, she says, Catholicism pervades so much of daily life in Ireland, from education to health care.

Wall says she will be voting against any referendum to repeal the Eighth Amendment but not because she feels bound by Catholic doctrine. She adds that she voted in support of Ireland's referendum on gay marriage in May 2015. Sixty-two percent of voters backed the legalization of same-sex marriage, surprising commentators who thought the country's religious tradition would guarantee a "no" vote.

Wall has never regretted her decision to carry the fetus to term, a decision she says was not taken out of deference to religion, but rather because

**"WOMEN TELL US they have drunk bleach and floor cleaner or swallowed packets of birth control pills and a bottle of spirits."**

of her unwillingness to end a life. "I don't think abortion is love. I think it's panic and disposing of life," Wall says, echoing the views of people like Sherlock. She has friends who had to "pop to England," but she says she doesn't judge them. "I just think, if I had gone over to end my pregnancy, would I still have been able to celebrate Ládán's life?"

### ***'The Worst Thing That Could Possibly Happen to Me'***

**IN THAT LIVERPOOL** clinic, Siobhan was waiting for her second consultation with the nurse. Her first appointment had been earlier that morning, and she was still preoccupied by the prospect that her parents—whom she describes as strict Catholics—would try to contact her. Her hands shook as she spoke. "I just hate lying, and right now it feels like lying to my parents, pretending everything's OK—that's been the hardest part."

Despite the guilt she feels in deceiving them, Siobhan says she has no regrets in choosing the abortion. "I'm in the middle of my college degree. I still have two years to do. I can't afford to have a baby." Though her parents would not support her decision, Siobhan says they would not support a baby either. "For my boyfriend, it would just be another bill in his eyes," she adds.

Unsure of how she became pregnant (she takes the contraceptive pill), Siobhan first thought she would go to Northern Ireland, not realizing that the laws in the British province are almost as restrictive as those in Ireland. (Though the North shares some laws with the rest of the U.K., it is free to set its own health policy.) In the North, abortion is permissible only if the mother's life is at risk or if there is a serious threat to her mental and physical health. Anyone convicted of procuring an illegal abortion there can face a life sentence. On January 11, for the first time in 40 years, a judge ruled that an unnamed 21-year-old woman must stand trial for having an abortion. But the abortion rights movement, in the North as in the South, is gaining momentum. In December of last year, a high court judge ruled that the law in Northern Ireland was incompatible with human rights. The Northern Ireland Assembly is not bound by the court's decision but could choose to debate the issue.

"This is the worst thing that could possibly happen to me at this moment in my life," Siobhan says softly. "I'm 19. I've been [praying], 'If there is a God, please don't let this happen.'" Brought up opposing abortion, Siobhan says her views changed at college. "There are plenty more 'me's in Ireland, and we all have to do this," she says. "They need to legalize abortion."

A nurse arrived to take Siobhan for her second appointment. Before she went, she mentioned Savita Halappanavar, an Indian woman who became a rallying point for Ireland's abortion rights movement in 2012. In October that year, Halappanavar, a 31-year-old dentist living and working in Ireland, began to miscarry and complained of severe back pain. But because a fetal heartbeat could still be heard, doctors refused to induce her. Over a week later, and four days after the baby had died, Halappanavar died from septicemia. After thousands of people protested, the Irish government passed a law in 2013 clarifying that abortion is permitted when the mother's life is at risk, including women who are suicidal.

However, critics say the Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act has done nothing to save the lives of women like Halappanavar because it is not as powerful as the Eighth Amendment. To be granted a legal abortion, a woman who says she is suicidal needs the approval of two psychiatrists and an obstetrician. In a case that was widely considered to be the first test of the new law, a medical panel of three public health officials ruled in 2014 that one woman who had been raped was suicidal. Patchy details of the case emerged in August 2014. Twenty-four weeks into her pregnancy, the woman's doctor referred her to the panel. At first the three officials ruled that the woman could not have an abortion but they changed their minds when she later went on hunger strike. After promising her a termination, the panel reversed its decision, saying that the pregnancy was too advanced and the woman would have to give birth. The baby was taken into the care of the state.

In a sign of how neither side wants to cede even the slightest ground, anti-abortion campaigners say they want the 2013 law overturned because it doesn't protect the fetus's right to life.

As both sides battle over which laws to repeal and which to keep, thousands of Irish women are terminating their pregnancies each year—and volunteers overseas are helping them. A Dutch collective named Women on Web began posting abortion pills to Northern Ireland in



2005 to help women both there and in the South. (It is against Irish law to order medication of any sort through the post, so the North is the only way to get abortion pills to the island of Ireland.)

Abortion Support Network, which was founded in 2009 and is based in England, helps Irish women pay for their trips to England or Wales—via donations from supporters—and finds them accommodation, if necessary. Mara Clarke, director of ASN, says the organization hears stories from Irish women who were initially unaware of the group's existence and who had tried to terminate their pregnancies. "We are told, 'I've been Googling ways to self-abortion,'" Clarke says. "We had a woman who went out and bought heroin; she's not a drug user, but she thought it might cause a miscarriage. We had a mother of four who said, 'I'm trying to think of ways to crash my car so I miscarry but don't die.' Women tell us they have drunk bleach and floor cleaner or swallowed packets of birth control pills and a bottle of spirits. We always tell the women not to do it and that they should let us give them the money."

Many women, including Siobhan, make their own arrangements without any help from organizations like ASN or Women on Web. Siobhan paid her own way to Liverpool, using up nearly all her savings in the process.

During Siobhan's second consultation, the nurse took a blood sample and performed an ultrasound. "Please don't show me it," Siobhan said. The nurse printed out two pictures of the fetus and placed them face down on Siobhan's file. As the consultation ended, the nurse accidentally flipped one of the ultrasound printouts over as she handed Siobhan a form. "I saw it," Siobhan says, "I'll never forget that. I thought: That's me. That's inside me, but it's not going to be soon."

Another nurse led her upstairs to where the abortion would be performed, waited for her to put on a surgical gown and introduced her to the anesthetist. The nurse looked down at the address of Siobhan's emergency contact. "Your friend lives in Boyle," she exclaimed. "That's where I'm from!" It was meant as a friendly comment, but it horrified



**LISTEN CAREFULLY:** The Irish Labour Party and Sinn Féin have said they support a referendum on repealing the Eighth Amendment. Prime Minister Enda Kenny, above, of the center-right Fine Gael party has said he would appoint a group of citizens to determine whether there should be a referendum. Several polls predict a majority would vote for a repeal.

+

Siobhan, who had spent her whole day hoping she would go unnoticed, anonymous. "Oh no," she remembers thinking. "I'm going to be found out."

Once the nurse had reassured Siobhan that she was protected by patient-doctor confidentiality, she told her it was time for the general anesthetic. As the anesthetist prepared the drip, Siobhan told him: "Please don't let me wake up for this."

When she came to, she was in a green room, lying on a bed next to two women she didn't recognize. A nurse appeared from a door to Siobhan's right. "Am I done? Is it definitely done?" she asked. The nurse told her that she was no longer pregnant. "It's over," she says she remembers thinking. "That's it—it's finally over."

Siobhan was one of three Irish women at the Liverpool clinic that day. The youngest was just 16. Kally Worthington, the practice manager, said she expected numbers to increase after the holidays, when women could travel more cheaply and without their families noticing.

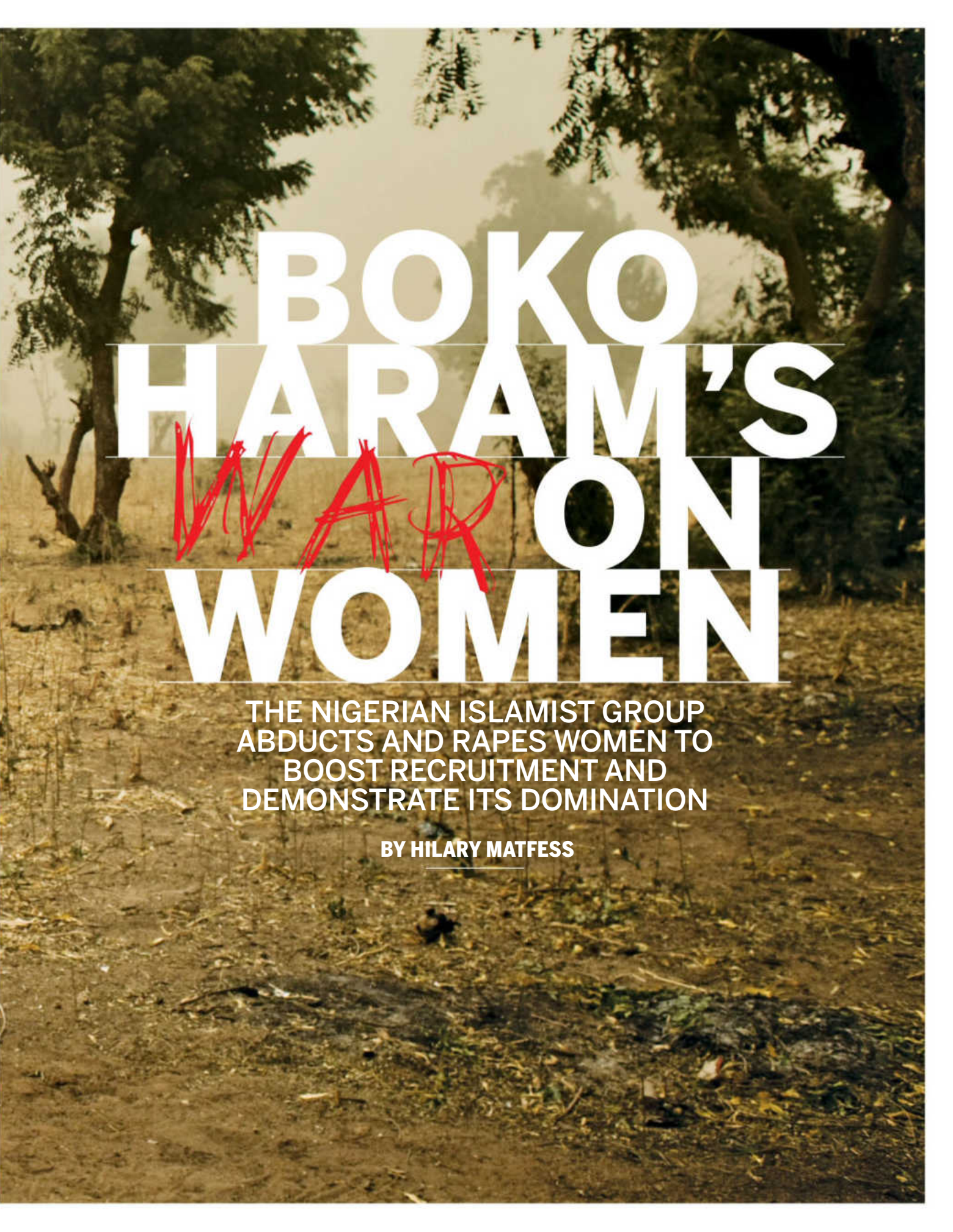
No matter how the country votes on February 26, Irish women will still have to go abroad to secretly obtain terminations. Their hope; that future generations will not have to follow in their footsteps. Until then, their safest option remains the airport. ■





**EXILED:** Boko Haram has driven more than 2 million people from their homes, including this woman who fled Gwoza after the militants invaded the town.



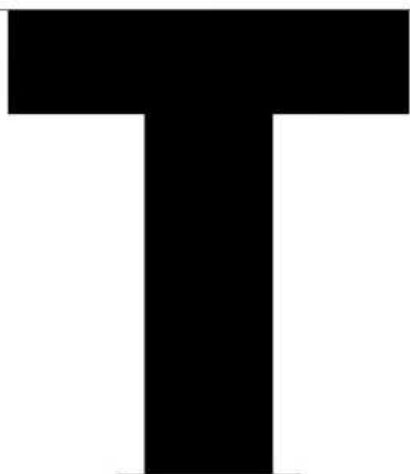


# BOKO HARAM'S ~~WAR~~ ON WOMEN

THE NIGERIAN ISLAMIST GROUP  
ABDUCTS AND RAPES WOMEN TO  
BOOST RECRUITMENT AND  
DEMONSTRATE ITS DOMINATION

BY HILARY MATFESS





**FIGHTING BACK:** Chadian soldiers drive past a black Boko Haram flag after taking back the city of Damasak in northern Nigeria. Chad, Niger and Cameroon have contributed forces to help fight the militants.

**“THEY HAVE** a look in their eyes—they look like they are possessed,” says Amira, a Nigerian woman held captive by Boko Haram fighters for several years. “They would even drink the blood of the people they killed,” she adds, using her hands to tip an imaginary bowl of blood to her mouth.

Amira is in her mid-50s, and the signs of a life of hard agricultural labor show across her face and hands. (She asked *Newsweek* to identify her only by the pseudonym Amira because she fears reprisals.) She is dressed in clean but worn clothes, a long skirt and a head wrap. Leaning forward in her plastic lawn chair in the modest administrative office of a camp for internally displaced people, she describes how the young fighters of Boko Haram, some not even in their teens, ransack communities, rape young women and kill on a scale unseen in Nigeria since the country’s civil war in the 1960s.

**SURVIVING:** With so many young men killed or taking part in the conflict, women are in the majority at camps like the Wuro Ahi settlement outside Fufore to the east of Yola.



Around three years ago, Amira fled from Michika, a town in northern Adamawa State, attempting to escape from Boko Haram. The area is one of the hardest hit by the Islamist insurgency, which has killed more than 30,000 people and displaced an estimated 2.2 million in just over six years. Because Amira and her neighbors were forced to flee at night, families were scattered, separated from one another as they ran for their lives. Amira lost track of her three children, and she fears at least one of them was killed that night. She had already lost her husband to Boko Haram.

When she came across a group of men in khaki uniforms in the forest, she assumed they were the Nigerian military. “I trusted them when they told me to follow them.” That night, Amira was abducted by Boko Haram. Shortly after she realized the men in uniform were not soldiers, they tried to rob her. “They tried to take my things, and I refused,” Amira says. “One man hit me, so I struck him across his face. He hit me on my head—look, you can still see the scar a bit,” she says, pulling off her head wrap and spreading her braids to show the faded scar on her scalp. Haphazardly retying her headscarf, she continues her story: “One of the lookouts saw them hit me and came down from his post to tell them to stop. He even applied ointment to my hair to help the bleeding. The men who tried to rob me then took him away and killed him. They made me watch them kill him.”

Amira also watched helplessly as her younger brother, who refused to join Boko Haram when he was captured, “was hacked to death.” She spent the next few years as a captive, forced to run errands for the insurgents and maintain their camps, while being shuttled across the country as the fighters fled the military and terrorized communities in northeast Nigeria. She saw hundreds of people hacked to death as Boko Haram raided villages across northeast Nigeria.

## RECITE THE KORAN OR DIE

**AMIRA IS** one of the thousands of women who have been abducted by Boko Haram. She says she was “too old to be a wife,” but most of the other abducted women were handed over to fighters as so-called wives and raped repeatedly. The group has also used girls and women as suicide bombers in more than 90 instances. No other insurgency in history has relied upon women and girls in such an abusive and predatory manner, so systematically, as Mia Bloom and I report in a forthcoming paper for the Center for Complex Operations online jour-

FROM LEFT: BRYAN ANSELM; TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; PREVIOUS SPREAD: BRYAN ANSELM





nal Prism. Although Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari declared in late December that Boko Haram had been “technically” defeated, violence continues, and it will take many years for survivors like Amira to return to any kind of normal life.

For some men in Boko Haram, participation in the insurgency is “mostly about power and access to women,” says Kyari Mohammed, the head of the Peace and Security Center at Modibbo Adama University of Technology in Yola. “You can take anyone’s woman, and she is yours,” he says, adding that in a region with few economic opportunities that would allow a young man to court and maintain a wife, access to women has particularly strong appeal.

One man who lived in an area under the control of Boko Haram for a few months suggests that 60 percent of the “total Boko Haram population is female,” observing that many of the foot soldiers have multiple wives. Another man recounts how Boko Haram raided homes in his community, kidnapping women and “tossing 5,000 naira [about \$25] on the floor as a bride price” for the kidnapped girls.

## AMIRA WATCHED HELPLESSLY AS HER YOUNGER BROTHER “WAS HACKED TO DEATH.”

Amnesty International estimated last year that the militants had abducted at least 2,000 women and girls, but the real number may be much higher. The U.N. secretary-general’s special representative on sexual violence, Zainab Hawa Bangura, said last year Boko Haram’s sexual violence was “not merely incidental, but integral, to their strategy of domination and self-perpetuation.”

Human Rights Watch recorded the account of a girl abducted for a month in 2013 who told researchers, “After we were declared married, I was ordered to live in his cave, but I always managed to avoid him. He soon began to threaten me with a knife to have sex with him, and when I still refused he brought



out his gun, warning that he would kill me if I shouted. Then he began to rape me every night.” The girl was just 15 at the time. According to Human Rights Watch, some reports have emerged that militants pray before raping women and girls, believing that any children born out of these unions will continue the jihad against the Nigerian government. The women who carry these children to term face violence and ostracism from their community, if they are lucky enough to escape from Boko Haram.

According to Amira, captive women are forced to cover themselves up and observe an extreme version of the Islamic notion of isolation, or *purdah*. “Women were allowed to go only to the Koranic school run by Boko Haram,” one man tells me in the dusty courtyard of the Maikohi displacement camp outside of Yola. “If they violated that, they would be punished. Their husbands could be punished too.” He still bears the scars across his back from being whipped by the insurgents. Amira, who is Muslim, recalls that all of the abducted women were forced to learn at least a few lines of the Koran. Shortly after her abduction, Amira recalls, the insurgents “made us all recite the Muslim articles of faith,” and killed some of those who were unable to do so.

## FROM ABUSED TO ABUSER

**SOME OF** the women captured by Boko Haram take up arms. According to Amira, captives are often disciplined by young women known as Chibok girls. The name refers to the kidnapping of more than 200 schoolgirls from the town of Chibok by Boko Haram nearly two years ago, which sparked international outrage and calls for action under the banner of #Bring-BackOurGirls. The BBC reported in 2015 that during assaults on villages “people were tied and laid down, and the girls took it from there.... The Chibok girls slit their throats.” There is no proof that these girls were indeed the schoolgirls abducted from Chibok, but by purporting to have turned the Chibok schoolgirls into cold-blooded killers, Boko Haram is furthering its campaign of psychological terror. Amira says the so-called Chibok girls in the insurgents’ camps “were trained as soldiers and given guns.”

“If you were stubborn and refused them, they can kill you,” she says. Asked if she ever saw Chibok girls kill anyone, she gives an emphatic nod.

According to reports of those who escaped from Boko Haram, many of the abducted women have been subjected to indoctrination and forced to take part in acts of extreme violence. A handful of Nigerian soldiers I spoke with reported hearing female



**STOLEN CHILDHOOD:** Children at a camp for the displaced attend a math class, above. Right, the burnt-out remains of classrooms at a school in Chibok, where Boko Haram seized more than 200 girls.

voices chanting during Boko Haram assaults on villages and when the military conducted raids against the sect. Many of them relayed tales of seeing women in burqas, with AK-47s—just like the male fighters. One soldier I met in a transit camp for internally displaced people said cavalierly, “There are female fighters in Boko Haram; there are fighters with weapons and plenty of suicide bombers.”

Boko Haram’s use of female suicide bombers is unprecedented in its scale. Sri Lanka’s Tamil Tigers, known for using female attackers, conducted 46 suicide bombings led by women over a decade in the ’90s. Boko Haram has conducted more than 90 such attacks in a little over a year and a half, largely against soft targets, such as markets that are filled primarily with civilians. When asked if she saw any young girls being used as suicide bombers, Amira merely nods, uncharacteristically quiet. While it is possible that some of the female fighters in Boko Haram have joined of their own volition, the majority of reported female suicide bombers are described as young girls, who, like other child soldiers, would be considered as much victims as perpetrators. Many of the people I spoke with across northern Nigeria believe the girls in such attacks didn’t know that they were laden with explosives. One man in Yola waved his hand in the air, insisting, “They are too young! You know they are just girls. They don’t know what they are doing.”

FROM LEFT: BRYAN ANSELM; SUNDAY AGHAZE/AF/GETTY



**“AS WE WERE  
FLEEING BOKO HARAM,  
I SAW A MOTHER DROP  
HER CHILD. I PICKED HER  
UP, AND I NOW TAKE  
CARE OF THEM BOTH.”**



## ESCAPE, BUT TO WHAT?

**AMIRA ESTIMATES** that Boko Haram held her for several years, though it was difficult for her to keep track of time. She was first held in a prison the militants had overtaken near Michika; later, she was moved with her captors and lived in “underground bunkers” in the Sambisa Forest. Escape was her constant goal, but the punishment for attempting to flee was death. Amira recalls that the foot soldiers in Boko Haram “were always following people and killing them for leaving.”

The moment she’d been waiting for finally came last year. Amira heard the sounds of Nigerian security forces nearby and was able to run to a clearing in the forest and flag down the soldiers. Leaping from her chair, she waves her arms wildly to demonstrate

how she flagged down her rescuers. With her help, the soldiers were able to free other captives too. Today, she lives in the National Youth Service Corps camp for internally displaced people in Yola, where women outnumber men by a large margin.

As I walked through several such camps in the Adamawa region, one U.N. employee who accompanied me would periodically say, “Look at how few adolescent men there are here.” Women and children dominate the camps, bustling between tents, tending the communal kitchens, or just sprawling beneath trees in the camp courtyards. Women are often responsible for providing support to orphaned children; at another camp for displaced people in Mubi, in northern Adamawa, a woman sitting outside a small tent with two infants in her lap tells me that only one of the children is hers. “As we were fleeing Boko Haram, I saw a mother drop her child,” she says. “I picked her up, and I now take care of them both.”

If they return to the communities they fled, women like Amira face myriad challenges. Their homes may have been looted or burned to the ground, either by Boko Haram or by the Nigerian military in an attempt to prevent looting. The vast majority of the women were subsistence farmers prior to fleeing; for the many who are now widowed, the job of preparing, planting and harvesting their fields will be hard. Even worse, there are emerging reports of women being denied access to land and being rejected from their communities because they are widows. Rejection is all the more common for women who have been forcibly impregnated by Boko Haram fighters or whose family members are thought to be sympathetic to, or a part of, the insurgency.

Part of the problem is the law there. Land in Nigeria is subject to conflicting, overlapping tenure systems, including governmental regulation, customary tenure laws and, in some parts of the country, Sharia law. That has created a legal morass with no recourse for most women, who lack the knowledge or the money to take a land claim to court.

For now, Amira is just happy to see people who are not trying to rape or kill her. Notices plastered around the offices remind humanitarian workers at the camp of the importance of combatting the stigma of association with Boko Haram by listening to the stories of those who survived and bearing witness to what they endured. Amira doesn’t know what is next for her. She’s not sure if she wants to go home to Michika as a widow, with no way to make a living. One thing she is sure of: “I want to find my children.” **N**





**+ SORELY MIST: DDT**  
was widely used  
into the '60s until  
scientists identified the many  
ways it harmed  
humans and the  
environment.





NEW WORLD



MEDICINE

ZIKA

ENVIRONMENT

HUNGER

WILDLIFE

SPACE

GOOD SCIENCE

## CHEMICAL OVERREACTION

# Can DDT stop the Zika scourge?

**LAST WEEK**, at the bottom of a *New York Times* story about the Zika virus outbreak, an old and controversial insecticide made a brief appearance. DDT, made famous for its environmental consequences by *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson's 1962 book, was being "mentioned a bit" as a possible means to eradicate *Aedes aegypti*, the Zika-carrying mosquito, the *Times* wrote.

DDT works as a neurotoxin, killing mosquitoes and other pests brain-first. Scientists determined decades ago that DDT also causes serious environmental damage, leading the U.S. to ban the chemical in 1972; the 150 parties to the 2001 Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants also agreed to put an end to its use. Recent studies have drawn connections between DDT and neurotoxic health effects in humans, like Alzheimer's, Parkinson's disease, breast cancer, diabetes and slowed brain development in children.

These concerns, said Lyle Petersen, director of the division of vector-borne diseases at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, need to take a back seat in the face of Zika. DDT, he told the *Times*, could be used in small amounts on the inside walls of homes; the environmental damage

widely associated with the insecticide was tied to large-scale agricultural use, and scale matters.

But Joe Conlon, a technical adviser to the American Mosquito Control Association and a former Navy entomologist, says that's a terrible idea. "DDT seems like a silver bullet, but it isn't," he says. First of all, *Aedes aegypti* might be resistant to DDT. Conlon says the Latin American countries where Zika is blooming used DDT heavily in the 1960s to kill mosquitoes, and the mosquitoes developed robust resistance to it, which may be lingering in the population.

And even if the mosquitoes aren't resistant, they soon would be. He speculates mosquitoes could develop resistance within a year. "What's even worse, resistance to DDT can stir cross-resistance to the other pesticides we use, like the pesticide we use to treat bed nets, to fight malaria."

Conlon says there may be no good chemical solution to the Zika mosquito problem. "What you need is a change in culture," Conlon says, a massive push to encourage people to eliminate any standing water on their property. "Americans tend to want a chemical solution to everything," he says, but DDT isn't it. **N**

BY  
**ZOË SCHLANGER**  
 @zoeschlanger



## GRAIN ELEVATOR

# Scientists are genetically modifying rice to withstand the ravages of climate change

**"I'VE NEVER** had so many students want to take part in a project," says Jane Langdale. "They want to save the world."

Langdale, a professor of plant development at the University of Oxford, is part of a team of scientists from 12 universities in eight countries working to develop a new strain of hyper-efficient, drought-resistant rice known as  $C_4$ . And in a world with a rapidly changing climate where nearly a billion people live in hunger, it could have a huge impact.

Over 3 billion people across the globe depend on rice for survival—it's one of the most widely consumed food crops, providing over one-fifth of the calories consumed by humans worldwide. As populations grow, this demand will increase. According to the International Rice Research Institute, each hectare of land (about 2.5 acres) used to cultivate rice in Asia provides food for 27 people. By 2050, that same hectare will need to feed 43 people.

Meanwhile, climate change will make production more difficult. Increased global temperatures will bring more erratic weather patterns, including more frequent and more intense droughts, and this will contribute to water scarcity and make the cultivation of this vital crop ever more difficult. "The planet is set to increase to 9 billion by 2043," says Paul Quick, a principal scientist at the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines. "As the world gets hotter, we have to

think of new and novel ways of improving agriculture to meet the food demands of the future."

Now this group of scientists from around the world is working to create a strain of hyper-efficient rice resistant to the effects of climate change; it produces a greater yield in warmer temperatures while using less water. Traditionally, rice plants grow through a chemical process known as  $C_3$  photosynthesis: They take carbon dioxide ( $CO_2$ ) out of the air, break it down and use the carbon molecules in forming 3-phosphoglyceric acid (3-PGA), which, as one paper puts it, "is subsequently used to build the organic molecules of life."

This process keeps  $C_3$  plants alive, but it's relatively inefficient because of the way a key enzyme, ribulose-1,5-bisphosphate carboxylase/oxygenase, works. RuBisCO, as it is commonly referred to, helps facilitate the  $CO_2$  reaction. But it can also react with oxygen in the air, creating a toxic compound the plant then needs to address. This process wastes energy and reduces the plant's food-making efficiency. And when it's hot, this becomes even more of a problem: At higher temperatures, RuBisCO is more likely to confuse  $O_2$  for  $CO_2$ .

On the other hand, natural  $C_4$  plants, like corn, are more efficient thanks to the cell structure of their leaves. In  $C_4$  plants, RuBisCO transforms  $CO_2$  into energy away from the leaf surface in specialized cells, called bundle sheath cells.



BY  
**OSCAR LOPEZ**  
@oscarlopezgib





**GOING GRANULAR:**  
The International  
Rice Research Insti-  
tute in the Philippines  
is the world's main  
repository of seeds,  
genes and informa-  
tion about rice.



This prevents RuBisCO from reacting with oxygen in the air and forces it to react only with CO<sub>2</sub>, allowing the photosynthetic process to operate at maximum efficiency. Stomata (tiny apertures in the leaf's outer layer) can remain more closed in C<sub>4</sub> plants during this process, meaning they don't lose as much water through transpiration—extra helpful in the expected drier environment of the future.

If these scientists can replicate the C<sub>4</sub> process in rice, the result could be a hypercharged plant with the ability to resist the effects of climate change. "It's like putting a turbocharger in a car," says Quick. "These plants focus CO<sub>2</sub> so that instead of having 400 parts per million, you've got 1,000 or 1,500 parts per million."

As a result of this increased efficiency, C<sub>4</sub> plants also have greater drought resistance. "C<sub>4</sub> plants grow in hotter, drier areas," says Julian Hibberd, a professor of molecular physiology at Cambridge University. "They have a better tolerance for periods of low water supply. With increased fluctuations in climate, we are going to need a crop that is more resistant. C<sub>4</sub> could be the answer."

Researchers are working on identifying the genes in C<sub>4</sub> plants responsible for creating the plants' cell structure and activating the more efficient photosynthetic process. Once these genes are identified, the goal is to figure out how to insert them into the rice genome. Scientists

are quietly hopeful of a breakthrough soon; the Massachusetts Institute of Technology named the C<sub>4</sub> project one of the "10 Breakthrough Technologies of 2015." If successful, C<sub>4</sub> rice could revolutionize a planet in which a steadily changing climate is putting the world's food supply at risk. "A stable supply of food in emerging economies would be an incredible boost to the global economy," says Hibberd. "It could also create greater societal stability worldwide."

But there is at least one catch: Rice cultivation is a massive contributor to climate change.

Methane is the most potent greenhouse gas because of its ability to trap heat within the atmosphere, producing 21 times as much global warming as CO<sub>2</sub> and accounting for 20 percent of the global greenhouse effect. And up to 17 percent of global methane emissions come from rice cultivation. In large part, that's because the warm, waterlogged soil in rice paddies provides ideal conditions for the growth of a particular kind of bacteria known as methanogens. "When they consume carbon dioxide that has been emitted by the roots, they metabolize it and produce methane," says Christer Jansson, director of plant sciences at the Environmental Molecular Sciences Laboratory in Richland, Washington. "This methane then travels up through the ground and the plant and into the atmosphere." The result is that rice farming



**+ GREENHOUSE GUESSES:** Researchers are trying to identify the genes that activate a more efficient photosynthesis process in rice.



leads to 25 million to 100 million tons of methane emitted into the air every year.

Jansson is part of a group, led by Chuanxin Sun of the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, working to solve this problem by creating a rice plant that produces less methane. Sun and his team set out to see if they could channel carbon in the plant from belowground, in the roots, to aboveground, in the stems and leaves, and therefore stop bacteria near the roots from producing so much methane.

By taking a gene from the barley plant that regulates where and how carbon is stored and inserting it into the rice plant, the scientists have created a new rice variety, dubbed SUSIBA2 rice. Thanks to the barley gene, the SUSIBA2 plant captures more CO<sub>2</sub> in its leaves, stems and grains while reducing the carbon allocated to the roots. "Through this process," says Jansson, "the methane-producing bacteria near the roots are starved and cannot produce methane." The concentration of carbon in the grains also produces larger, starchier rice grains, as well as an overall yield increase of around 10 percent. Test results so far are positive: A study published last year in *Nature* found that three-year field trials in China were associated with a significant reduction in methane emissions.

"It's potentially huge," says Jansson. "If we have a rice that can produce more food for the population at the same time as reducing methane, it would be an incredible breakthrough." Excited as they are, both groups of scientists are cautious and admit that it will likely be 10 to 15 years before these strains are commercially available, even if all the testing goes according to plan.

A major challenge facing both studies is increasing worldwide skepticism of genetically modified organism foods. "If there is something viable that could be commercialized, the concern would be around the unintended consequences," says Megan Westgate, executive director of the Non-GMO Project, a U.S.-based nonprofit. "It's justified that consumers are concerned to know what the impact will be on the environment and on human health."

Scientists are keenly aware of the concern. Sun says that "so far we have not seen any negative impact on the environment." However, he admits that "if we drive carbon aboveground to the grain, it might affect the soil ecosystem, so we have to do more experiments to understand these effects." Likewise, Jansson says that "we need to investigate to see the total benefit of this product, to see



the pros and cons. If there are negative effects on human consumption or the environment, we need to identify those and mitigate them."


For the scientists behind the C<sub>4</sub> project, arguments against GMO crops are diminished by the fact that C<sub>4</sub> plants are naturally occurring and that, in a sense, they are just reproducing what nature has already achieved. "Evolution itself has done this 60 times," says Langdale. "Twenty to 30 million years ago, plants evolved C<sub>4</sub> mechanisms on their own."

But another major concern for Westgate and others from the anti-GMO movement is what happens when corporate players become

## UP TO 17 PERCENT OF GLOBAL METHANE EMISSIONS COME FROM RICE CULTIVATION.

involved. Monsanto, the American biotechnology company involved in numerous lawsuits over the health and environmental effects of its products, is their boogeyman. "The biggest problem with corporate involvement is specifically around the patenting and what that does to food sovereignty," says Westgate. "When corporations have control of the genetic sequencing of our major foods, it becomes very problematic."

In fact, the International Rice Research Institute's Quick admits that if C<sub>4</sub> rice becomes commercially viable, "only large agri-businesses would have the capacity to distribute it properly." However, he is adamant that he and his team would negotiate so that developing countries would be free from the intellectual property laws that govern this kind of genetic patenting.

Ultimately, most scientists feel that the potential benefits of the C<sub>4</sub> rice project work far outweigh any potentially negative consequences. "We are doing this as a humanitarian project to stop world hunger," Langdale says. "At the end of the day, if someone is starving, would they rather eat genetically modified rice or nothing at all?" 





## BACTERIAL BACKUP

With antibiotics failing, scientists are turning to a new weapon to fight superbugs: antibodies

**LAST NOVEMBER**, researchers in China announced they'd made an alarming discovery: a new bacterial superbug lurking in the food chain.

Through routine animal testing, they found a high number of *E. coli* samples that were resistant to Colistin, an antibiotic used as a last line of defense against the deadliest infections. The

samples, which had come from a commercial pig farm near Shanghai, confirmed that after years when tons of the drug were dumped into animal feed, a strain of the bacteria had developed that could no longer be killed by one of the most effective and toxic antibiotics in existence.

That Colistin was no longer effective against

BY  
**LAURA COLARUSSO**  
[@LauraColarusso](https://twitter.com/LauraColarusso)





**+**  
**PIG NEWS:** *E. coli* samples from pig farms in China were resistant to the antibiotic that is the last line of defense against the deadliest infections.

this strain of *E. coli* wasn't even the worst—or most surprising—part of the news. The researchers also found the bacteria had developed a new gene, *mcr-1*, that allows the resistance to jump from cell to cell, strain to strain and even between different species of bacteria. When paired with more aggressive microbes like *Klebsiella*, a genus of bacteria commonly found in hospitals that can cause pneumonia, this gene could help create organisms resistant to all known treatments.

“This is a watershed moment,” says Dr. Yohei Doi, an expert on antimicrobial resistance at the University of Pittsburgh who assisted the researchers in China. Along with the larger infectious disease community, Doi has been warning for years that the overuse of antibiotics in both agriculture and medicine is pushing us toward a future in which routine infections become even harder to fight and more fatal. Unlike other types of drugs, antibiotics can lose their potency over time as the microbes they are designed to defeat mutate—and the *mcr-1* gene is the latest example. “What’s really different this time,” says Doi, “is how quickly and easily this gene can transmit from one type of *E. coli* to another.”

The emergence of *mcr-1*, which has already been detected on at least four continents and in 18 countries, underscores a larger issue confronting infectious disease experts and the medical community more broadly. For much of the 20th century, the development of new antibiotics dominated the field and kept pace with the illnesses they were designed to treat. Patients, for the most part, received the lifesaving care they needed, but there was also a downside: Other types of therapies—especially those that worked to boost the immune response—fell by the wayside.

As the risk of antibiotic resistance becomes more acute, a small but growing group of scientists, doctors and medical researchers are trying to shift some of the attention and funding back to projects that examine how human immunity can be harnessed to combat fatal infections. They aren't advocating against developing new antibiotics, which they readily acknowledge will be necessary to confront the superbugs that are killing an estimated 700,000 worldwide each year. However, it's shortsighted, they contend, to focus narrowly on destroying the bacteria with drugs while overlooking the fact that antibodies—the body's natural defense mechanism—have a critical role to play. “The bottom line is that the bacteria now develop resistance to anti-infectious agents faster



than we can develop the anti-infectious agents,” says Dr. Jean-Laurent Casanova, a professor at Rockefeller University who studies how genetic coding can make a person more susceptible to disease. “If we continue to rely solely on antibiotics, we are going to have a problem.”

Different classes of antibiotics kill bacteria in different ways. Some destroy the cell wall while others interfere with a part of the metabolic process. Antibodies, on the other hand, are proteins that work in a number of ways to clear infections. They bind to bacteria and make it easier for white blood cells to ingest them. They can induce other proteins in the blood, known as complement proteins, to cover the surface of the foreign invaders and again make it easier for white blood cells to dispose of them. Once it's recruited, the complement system itself can eliminate certain organisms by punching holes

## SUPERBUGS ARE KILLING AN ESTIMATED 700,000 WORLDWIDE EACH YEAR.

in their cell walls. These processes don't usually harm the antibodies, which can continue hunting for as long as necessary. Thus, the immune system attacks bacteria in multiple places, making it nearly impossible for them to evolve and become resistant.

How we get from having the bug to having the disease is not well understood. Since the 1860s, germ theory—or the idea that ultimate responsibility for an illness lies with the pathogen—has monopolized the discussion. But, while a microbe is clearly needed for an illness to take root, not everyone who carries a given disease-causing organism gets sick from it. “Our current way of thinking about it is outdated,” says Dr. Liise-anne Pirofski, chief of the infectious diseases division at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine. “We know that there are many instances where the same microbe





is totally innocuous in one person but kills another.” For example, only 1 in 1,000 infected children develop life-threatening malaria. Fewer than 10 percent of people carrying tuberculosis get the full-blown disease. During the flu pandemic of 1918, more than 90 percent of those who got the virus lived. In addition, scientists know that sometimes the problem isn’t the bacteria itself, but the toxins it releases as it reproduces within its human host. Antibodies also have an advantage here, as they can help clear the poison from the body. Antibiotics can kill only the bug.

“The entire mindset has been, ‘Kill the bug. Kill the bug. Kill the bug,’” says Dr. Arturo Casadevall, a microbiologist and immunologist at Johns Hopkins University. “The field of infectious disease is essentially stuck. Now we are paying the price.” As drugs like Colistin become less effective, the number of deaths attributed to drug-resistant organisms is expected to rise to 10 million by 2050.

And yet, the public health response to the growing problem of drug-resistant bacteria remains highly focused on speeding up the process of getting new antibiotics through the regulatory pipeline. In March 2015, the White House released a wide-ranging national action plan that emphasized the need for new drugs. The House of Representatives passed legislation in July that would allow pharmaceutical companies to conduct shorter and smaller clinical trials for antibiotics in the hope that new medications would get to market faster. In 2016, the National Institutes of Health (NIH) plans to spend \$461 million studying antimicrobial resistance—an increase of \$100 million over last year. Only a small fraction of this attention has been given to antibodies, vaccines and other potential treatments.

The good news is that in the last five years there has been a broader resurgence in antibody research, says Dr. Brad Spellberg, an expert in drug-resistant infections at the Los

Angeles County-University of Southern California Medical Center. Spellberg’s lab is trying to harness antibodies to defeat deadly pathogens, including *Acinetobacter*, a genus of bacteria found in hospitals that is resistant to most antibiotics available today. This NIH-funded project has already yielded several promising antibodies, at least one of which has protected mice from lethal bacteria. Then there’s the groundbreaking research being done by SAB Biotherapeutics, a small firm in South Dakota that is breeding cows that produce human antibodies. Company officials say that when injected with diseases like Methicillin-resistant *Staphylococcus aureus*, more commonly known as MRSA, these cows make effective antibodies, which SAB’s researchers believe could, in the future, be given to humans to fight off the infection. MedImmune, a biotech firm based in Maryland, is conducting clinical trials on an antibody that targets a toxin produced by *Staphylococcus* bacteria.

Two months after the discovery of the Colistin-resistant *E. coli* was reported, the NIH announced it was spending \$5 million on 24 programs aimed at developing what it is calling “nontraditional therapies” for antibiotic resistance. Spellberg estimates that there are a few dozen other university facilities and research firms—mostly in the biotech sphere—doing similar work. The large pharmaceutical companies have yet to see a big breakthrough that proves they can turn a hefty profit. That may soon be changing. “For a long time, there was little academic interest in antibodies for bac-

## “BACTERIA NOW DEVELOP RESISTANCE TO ANTI-INFECTIOUS AGENTS FASTER THAN WE CAN DEVELOP THE ANTI-INFECTIOUS AGENTS.”

terial infections because every time resistance would catch up with the drugs we had, a company would come up with the next antibiotic,” says Spellberg. “But the drug companies have decided antibiotics aren’t profitable enough and have largely shut down their work in this area. So people are starting to think maybe it’s time to take another look at immunotherapies.”

There is nothing novel about this approach. Antibodies have been used since the late 19th



century, when immune-boosting serums were developed to treat patients with diphtheria and tetanus, which at the time claimed thousands of lives annually. (The first Nobel Prize for medicine was awarded in 1901 to Emil von Behring for his work in this field.) By 1910, researchers in New York City had developed an antibody serum for pneumonia that would later catch the attention of the state's health commissioner, Thomas Parran Jr. After Parran became surgeon general in 1936, he funded a nationwide pneumonia control program that distributed the serum to people in roughly half of the states.

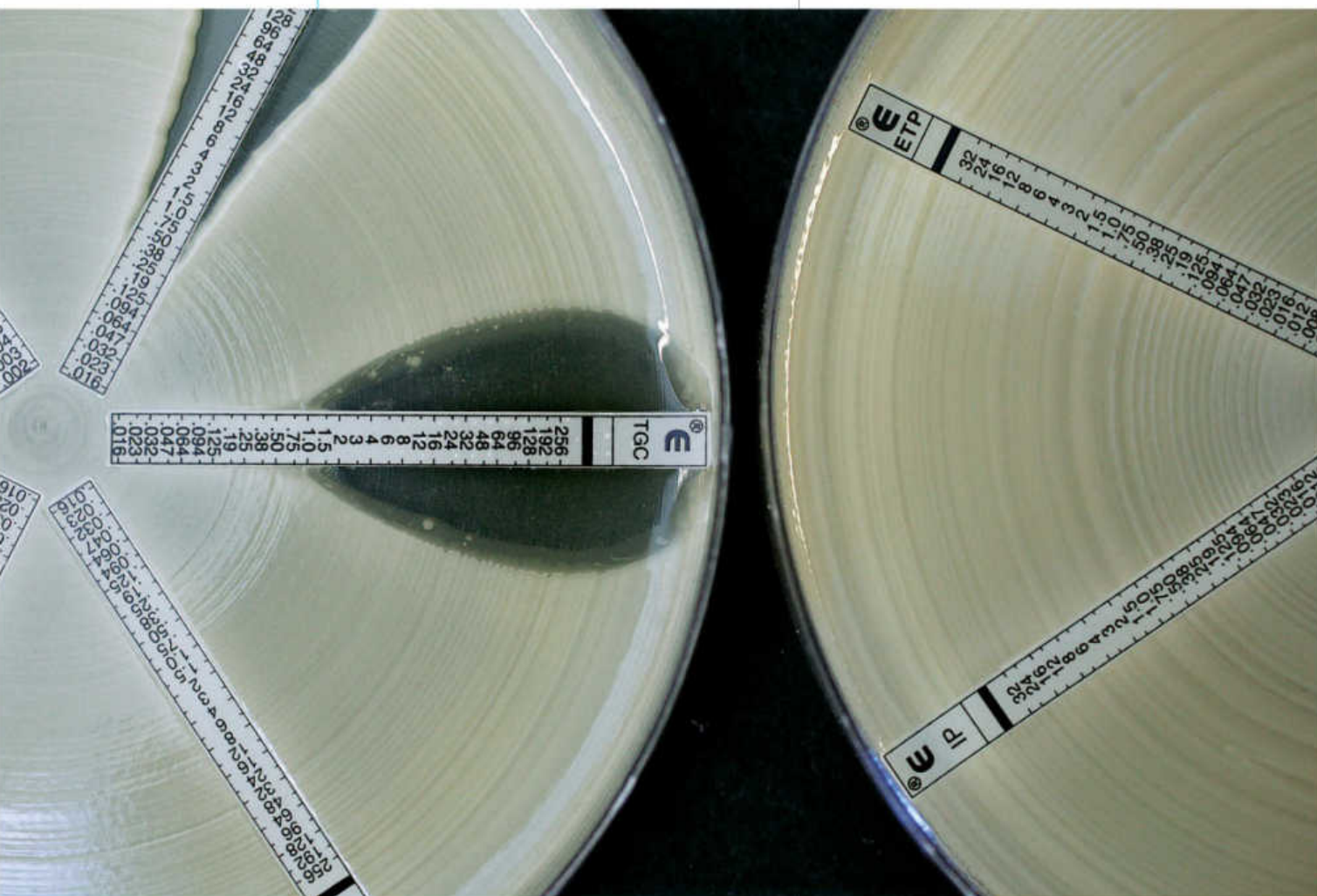
The interest in serums declined throughout the 1930s. Small-scale production of penicillin, the first widely used antibiotic, started in the early 1940s. As the U.S. prepared to enter World War II, the federal government partnered with

the big pharmaceutical companies to expand manufacturing capacity. It was a Manhattan Project-sized effort. By the end of the war, antibiotics had entered the mainstream of American life, revolutionizing the practice of medicine. All of a sudden, doctors could cure patients of diseases that often proved fatal. "They were a magic bullet," says medical historian Dr. Scott Podolsky. "Antibiotics ushered in the golden age of medicine."

It's this powerful legacy that the proponents of immunotherapies are up against. Antibiotics were one of the most important discoveries of the 20th century. Convincing the research community that a 19th-century idea is the future of medicine is a difficult task, but the discovery of the mcr-1 gene may be the warning sign that jump-starts the conversation. ■

**DISHING:** Scientists can test the resistance of bacteria to antibiotics in the lab. The plate on the left indicates sensitivity to tigecycline, which is used to treat several kinds of infections.

SUZANNE PLUNKETT/REUTERS







**+**  
**DO FLIES GO WITH THAT SHAKE?** Food using dehydrated insects, such as these macaroons, could feed billions at a fraction of the cost of beef.





## DOWNTIME

ALCOHOL

FOOD

MOVIES

ART

BOOKS

STYLE

## THOSE INCREDIBLE, EDIBLE BUGS

Some companies are betting big that the average person won't mind a cricket (or 75) in a cookie

**STEFÁN THORODDSEN** still has a few bugs to work out with his latest culinary endeavor.

"My grandma thinks I'm crazy. She literally does not believe we are making an actual product," says the 28-year-old Reykjavik, Iceland-based entrepreneur. "She says to me, 'Sure—you're making food out of insects. Sure.'"

Thoroddsen has faced similar discussions many times since the summer of 2014, when he and his longtime friend Búi Aðalsteinsson founded the Crowbar protein company. Its flagship product is the Jungle Bar, a protein bar with a savory, cranberry-heavy flavor, slightly tangy aftertaste and pleasingly chewy texture of brown rice and quinoa. However, one main ingredient is more exotic than quinoa, especially in Iceland: crickets. And quite a bushel of them at that: Seventy-five of the insects, milled into powder, are in every fist-sized serving.

Crowbar is the first company to push insect-based food in Iceland, a country with a regional

diet heavy on fish and lamb. On the six-legged front, it's an even unlikelier sell, as crickets are not indigenous to the island. (Neither are mosquitos or most spiders.)

Thoroddsen admits that their toughest task has not been acquiring the unusual ingredient—which they buy in powderized form from a Canadian distributor—but rather pushing it past psychological obstacles. "When you ask someone if they would like to eat a cricket, the most common reaction is disgust. Our main mission is to lower the barrier so people are willing to have the first bite," he says. "We did some research on different types of insects we had in mind, and crickets scored the highest over cockroaches, larvae, flies. Crickets are in nature, they have a sound, and they don't directly link into our concept of the disgusting insect."

Aðalsteinsson, 26, has pushed the Jungle Bar to market largely by emphasizing its nutritional composition; cricket powder can be over 50

BY  
**STACEY ANDERSON**  
[@staceykanderson](https://twitter.com/staceykanderson)



percent protein, one reason edible insects are an estimated \$20 million industry in America, according to *Fast Company*. He's also championed its green appeal.

"It doesn't only taste good. It's a great source of protein, minerals like iron, calcium, B-12 vitamin, omega-3s and -6s—we use the term *superfood* for it," says Aðalsteinsson. "Also, people talk about how insects could be the food source that

solves world hunger. It's almost 20 times more efficient and sustainable to grow 1 kilogram of protein from insects as opposed to beef."

Though crickets have been a popular snack for years in Asia (particularly China and Thailand, where they are often fried to a popcorn-like crisp), insect consumption was largely verboten in America and Europe until a few years ago. In 2012, hydrologist Pat Crowley launched Chapul,



**+**  
**FLOUR POWER:**  
Insects, such as the crickets farmed at this plant, are dehydrated and rendered into a flourlike powder for use in pastries.

REGIS DUVIGNAU/REUTERS





a cricket-based protein food company influenced by his international travels and ecological concerns. Raising livestock consumes more water than any other human activity on earth, he noted, which prompted him to experiment with ways to make crickets more palatable to Westerners.

"We were the first ones to make the cricket flour and coin that term, though there was plenty of anecdotal experience from Native American groups and Aztecs doing a fairly similar process," explains Crowley, 36, who lives in Salt Lake City. "I pulled the concept from the sushi industry, which was very strategic with its entry into the U.S. market. They really focused on the visual aspects of the foreign ingredients, so they put rice on the outside of the first California rolls, they hid the seaweed, and they put avocado in, which was familiar to us. The bar was our version of that California roll; the flour eliminates the visual component [of insects]."

After raising modest initial funding on Kickstarter, Crowley hawked Chapul on the popular reality show *Shark Tank* in 2014. Several of the investor-judges turned up their noses, and their resident curmudgeon, Kevin O'Leary, immediately responded to Crowley's pitch with "There is no way I'm eating that." Undeterred, Crowley got a \$50,000 investment from the show's wealthiest panelist, Mark Cuban. (Cuban was most amenable to the taste as well; Chapul bars are manufactured in four flavors, including the Aztec Bar with cayenne and chocolate and the Thai Bar with ginger and lime.)

"*Shark Tank* was actually pretty representative of consumers at that time, we found," says Crowley. "There were five judges, and a couple of them immediately were just not into it, and two were on the fence. And there was one who was pretty intrigued, being Mark. We had about \$80,000 in sales total when I walked in. That first week [after the episode aired], we had about \$100,000 in sales."

Greg Sewitz and Gabi Lewis, the co-CEOs of the eXo protein company, launched their cricket-based bar in the spring of 2014, as college undergrads, after Sewitz attended a conference on environmentalism at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology hosted by the Dalai Lama. They are now based in New York City and have distribution in the United States, Singapore and the United Kingdom.

"Protein bars for us are really just the tip of the iceberg. It's a vehicle to get people used



to the idea of consuming insects and cricket protein specifically, so we're working on a far broader portfolio of products," says Lewis, 25, who declined to offer details about specific future products. "There are companies already making cricket chips, cricket cookies—things you wouldn't eat for protein." They are hoping to expand further internationally, including more extensively in Lewis's native Scotland.

Crowley says Chapul's sales have increased more than 200 percent per year. The company will debut a cricket-based all-purpose baking flour in January 2016.

Jungle Bar's inaugural shipment of 10,000 bars arrived in Iceland in late December; Thoroddsen said he and Aðalsteinsson were worried that customs officials would be suspicious and halt their entry. "We didn't know

## "WE DID SOME RESEARCH ON DIFFERENT TYPES OF INSECTS, AND CRICKETS SCORED THE HIGHEST OVER COCKROACHES, LARVAE, FLIES."

what to expect," he says. "We just had a gut feeling that someone would stop the insects. Fortunately, all went well." They have secured a deal to sell the bars in the major Icelandic supermarket chain Hagkaup, and they are discussing deals with European retailers for 2016.

But that doesn't mean the Jungle Bar team will be pushing to eradicate any other menu staples soon. "We're really trying not to be preachy; we're not trying to get people to stop eating meat," insists Thoroddsen. "We're trying to implement a product that's new, has other possibilities and just so happens to be extremely sustainable."

He admits, though, that some customers have had negative feedback about the taste. "A few have said, 'Cranberries are not my flavor.'" **N**





## OUR GRAPES

# Hong Kong has become the capital of the bring-your-own-bottle movement

**A QUESTION** for wine lovers: Where would you expect to see the greatest consumption of the world's priciest bottles of wine? A fusty gentleman's club in London? The private room of a culinary temple in Paris? A high rollers' table in Las Vegas? Well, those are all good places to observe oenophilic excess, but they hardly compare to what you can find in Hong Kong. Amuse Bouche, for instance, a modest French restaurant in Hong Kong's former red-light district, has an impressive wine list and might see more fancy bottles opened and drunk than any other dining location in the world. But that wine the customers are drinking? It's rarely purchased off the Amuse Bouche list. More likely, the customers have brought in their own extraordinary bottles.

Hong Kong is the world BYO (bring your own) capital, and Amuse Bouche has become its epicenter. The BYO movement began somewhere in the backstreets of Melbourne, Australia, in the 1960s, when restaurants without full liquor licenses allowed customers to bring bottles of wine, which tended to be priced at the budget end of the market. In Hong Kong, one of the world's wealthiest cities, BYO has gone distinctly high-end. BYO established itself in Hong Kong because until about 20 years ago hardly any restaurants there served wine, so it was easier to allow customers to bring their own for a fee than embark on the expensive business of creating a serious wine list. Once the custom had begun, it was hard for restaurant owners to change course. Now, in the highly competitive Hong Kong

market, if a restaurant refuses to allow BYO, the diner can easily choose to go elsewhere.

Hong Kong's decision in 2008 to abolish all taxes and duties on wine imports prompted rapid growth in the Chinese territory's wine market. The policy has been a stunning success, and Hong Kong is currently one of the top three hubs for fine wine sales. Imports quadrupled and stand at just over \$1 billion annually, with the majority of wines heralding from famous French vineyards. In 2010, Hong Kong supplanted New York as the leading place for fine wine auctions. As a result, restaurant wine lists have become very impressive—but so have the collections of private individuals. “Even the top restaurants in Hong Kong can't match the depth of some of the big collectors here,” says Paulo Pong, who in 2001 founded Altaya Wines, the leading fine wine merchant in Hong Kong and exclusive agent for nearly 100 of the world's most famous wineries. He also owns 12 restaurants. “Sommeliers hate it, but the other senior managers understand they have to be a lot more accommodating with it.”

The government may have sacrificed some import tax returns with its 2008 decision not to levy taxes on wine imports, but it has more than made up for that in increases in revenue from auction and restaurant sales. Kent Wong, a sommelier from one of Hong Kong's leading hotels, opened Amuse Bouche in 2009 on the 22nd floor of a high-rise building. He stocked its cellar with 1,100 different wines from his own cellar but remained open to the BYO philosophy. Wong

BY  
**BRUCE PALLING**  
[@Bruce\\_Palling](#)






**PULL A CORK FROM IT: Hong Kong abolished all taxes and duties on wine and quickly became one of the world's fine wine hubs.**

sometimes even adapts his menu to better suit the wines brought by his customers.

To make up for the hit they take by allowing BYO, most restaurants charge around \$40 corkage per bottle. Some allow one corkage-free bottle provided that customers purchase another bottle from the wine list priced similarly to the one brought in by the customer. Amuse Bouche has a somewhat different approach. “We prefer to charge per person rather than per bottle, so if customers want to bring along great bottles, we prepare an entire dinner for them and charge \$170 per person [for corkage and dinner],” says Wong.

BYO culture is now so widespread in Hong Kong that only a handful of restaurants refuse to allow it, including L’Atelier de Joël Robuchon at the Landmark luxury shopping center. L’Atelier has a superb list and makes the promise that it will find any great bottle requested by a customer. No such restrictions apply at another of the center’s dining establishments, Amber, the most acclaimed restaurant in Hong Kong, located within the Landmark Mandarin Oriental hotel. Amber allows one BYO bottle free if another similarly priced bottle is purchased, but it sets a limit of four BYO bottles per party. “In the past, we had people walking in with 20 bottles,” says chef Richard Ekkebus. “It created anarchy in the restaurant because of the glassware, so regular customers didn’t receive adequate service.”

## MANY HONG KONG RESTAURANT WALLS ARE DECORATED WITH TROPHIES THAT COMMEMORATE EVENINGS MARKED BY THE DRINKING OF BIG-NAME WINES.

Pong and others in the Hong Kong wine trade believe that more fine wine is opened in Hong Kong every night than anywhere else in the world. Many Hong Kong restaurant walls are decorated with trophies that commemorate evenings marked by the drinking of big-name wines: empty bottles of Domaine de la Romanée-Conti or rarities from legendary winemakers like Henri Jayer or Christian Moueix. Those mementos of meals past act as a constant reminder to diners: Hong Kong may be the most cost-effective place to enjoy the world’s finest wines alongside some of the best cooking on the planet. 





## THE CURATED LIFE

# BRIGHT AT THE MUSEUM

London's Victoria and Albert is about to welcome a colorful outfit by Neapolitan tailor Mariano Rubinacci into its permanent collection

ON FEBRUARY 24, the Italian Embassy in London's Grosvenor Square will host a reception to mark a small but significant milestone in the history of Italian menswear: a suit of clothes by the Neapolitan tailor Mariano Rubinacci is entering the permanent collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A).

I like to think I played a small role in making that happen. A few years ago, I suggested to Rubinacci that, as one of the most famous names in Italian tailoring and, in my opinion, the most elegantly dressed man in Naples, he ought to establish a museum of Neapolitan tailoring. Rubinacci did go on to display a collection of items in his shop, which functions as a small museum, and he has since loaned items to the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York and the V&A's "Glamour of Italian Fashion" exhibition in 2014.

I met Rubinacci a little over a decade ago, when he opened a shop on Mount Street in London. Some of his customers—a fairly elite crowd that includes Lord Rothschild, a prominent member of the banking family—had encouraged him to come to the British capital. The Mount Street venture has proved rather more successful than his first expedition to England more than 50 years ago, when, aged 18, he had just inherited the business after the unexpected death of his father, Gennaro.

On that trip, he boarded a British European Airways Trident heading for London, where he had booked a room in a Leicester Square hotel. He spoke very little English and so had written down the address—but he grew increasingly exasperated when, upon arrival, no taxi driver he found had heard of this Leicester Square, which Rubinacci had thought was one of the best-known and most easily located places in all of central London. After spending an hour trying to make himself understood, he encountered a policeman who offered to help. It turned out the reason the young Italian could not get a taxi to Leicester Square was that he had arrived in Manchester, more than 200 miles north of London. Fog had prevented the landing in London, but he had not understood a word of the in-flight announcement telling passengers that they were being diverted to Manchester.

Rubinacci felt drawn to the British capital because his father had originally called the business "London House" when he started it in 1930. Although the business is now called Rubinacci, the labels still carry the letters LH. At that time, London was renowned as the capital of male elegance—though Gennaro's vision of tailoring in the British Isles was rather different from the reality, perhaps because he had never actually visited them.



BY  
NICHOLAS FOULKES



**TAILOR-TINKERER:** Rubinacci, left, puts his own spin on suits and sports coats, favoring a less structured look than that favored by his English peers.

Had Gennaro ever come to London, he would have found a very different and much more structured kind of tailoring than the kind London House practiced in Naples. Savile Row tailoring constructs an idealized shape using pads, wadding and layers of canvas to create a sharp-angled silhouette. By contrast, the coats Rubinacci showed me, dating from the 1930s, were almost minimalist in their construction.

Unlined and featuring a shirt-like shoulder with tiny wrinkles that betoken a wide and comfortable sleeve fed into a high armhole, these coats were designed for maximum comfort and

wearability. They were so light that they could be put on and forgotten about.

The overall sense of softness was enhanced by characterful curvilinear *barchetta* pockets and two voluminous *pignata* patch pockets. These are curved and swell at the bottom. The famously sporty double lines of stitching reinforced the garment at its greatest points of stress, such as along the shoulder line. Especially miraculous was the absence of padding at the shoulder, which had managed to hold its shape almost as if by sorcery rather than by the stitches put in by a Neapolitan tailor almost a century ago.

But, best of all, this is a living tradition. Rubinacci tailors make exactly the same sort of coats today, albeit in slightly lighter fabrics than were available in the 1930s.

There is something joyous and slightly flamboyant about Rubinacci tailoring. The lighter summer sports coats and blazers are only a little heavier than shirts, while the soft tailoring



AMONG SOME OF THE MORE IMAGINATIVE GARMENTS HE HAS MADE FOR ME ARE A SUIT IN LIME-COLORED, SHIRT-WEIGHT CORDUROY AND ANOTHER IN PALE DENIM.

characteristic of Naples transforms heavy tweeds into garments with a cardigan-like comfort.

Like his father, Mariano Rubinacci is not a trained tailor. He is more of a *chef d'orchestre*, a conductor who brings together various talents and adds his own unique vision and interpretation. He has a natural gift for elegance and a genius for combining colors and using materials in an unexpected way. Among some of the more imaginative garments he has made for me are a suit in lime-colored, shirt-weight corduroy and another in pale denim.

It is therefore only to be expected that the outfit entering the V&A is a joyous one: a linen jacket, pink trousers and a pale denim shirt—perfect for summer days in Naples and Capri. And just the sort of thing to get you noticed on foggy nights in London—or even Manchester. **N**



# REWIND

25  
YEARS



FEBRUARY 18, 1991

SEX THERAPIST RUTH WESTHEIMER, AKA DR. RUTH, INSTRUCTS ISRAELIS ON "HOW TO HAVE GOOD SEX IN AN AIR-RAID SHELTER"

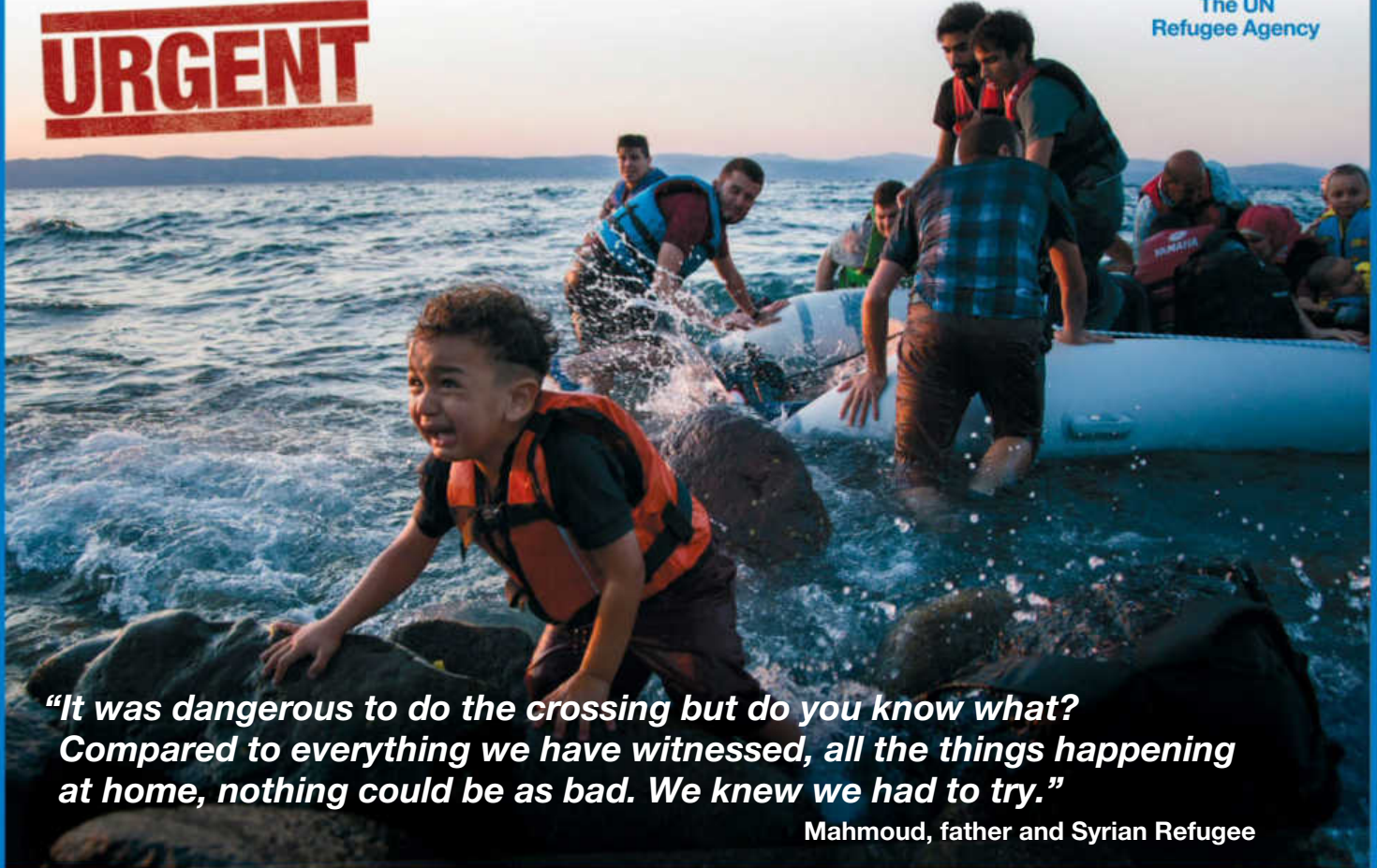
“Do touch. Do talk about it. But do not do it until after the sirens.”



# REFUGEE CRISIS IN EUROPE

FAMILIES FORCED TO FLEE THEIR HOMES

## URGENT



***"It was dangerous to do the crossing but do you know what? Compared to everything we have witnessed, all the things happening at home, nothing could be as bad. We knew we had to try."***

**Mahmoud, father and Syrian Refugee**

Over 400,000 people have crossed the Mediterranean during 2015, undertaking unthinkable journeys from countries like Syria, that have been torn apart by war and persecution.

These families are fleeing for their lives, risking the treacherous sea and land crossings. Many having no choice but to board over-crowded, flimsy boats to give their children a chance of safety. For some, this desperate journey will be their last. Almost 3,000 people have drowned trying to reach safety in Europe. The crossing is dangerous but for many families making this journey is the only choice they feel they have.

**UNHCR is on the ground providing life-saving assistance but we need your help.**

You can help provide shelter, food, water and medical care to vulnerable families arriving in Europe.

With so many in need and as more continue to make this journey, your donation today is vital and will help UNHCR to save lives and protect families who have been forced to flee their homes.

**\$120 can provide emergency rescue kits containing a thermal blanket, towel, water, high nutrient energy bar, dry clothes and shoes, to 4 survivors.**



## PLEASE GIVE WHAT YOU CAN TODAY. VISIT [DONATE.UNHCR.ORG](https://donate.unhcr.org)





WHO KNOWS THE OTTO MAN?



66 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON W1 • [WWW.OTTOUOMO.COM](http://WWW.OTTOUOMO.COM) • +44 (0) 203 475 3888